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ABSTRACT

Based on research supported by the Peace Corps, this book about the Guatemalan Indians examines some of the cultural implications and problems of current efforts that aim toward national integration of traditional communities. There are seven major chapters. Chapter 1, "A Social History of the Guatemalan Indian," looks at the Indians under both Spanish rule and national rule after independence. A Guatemalan peasant community is described. The second chapter discusses agricultural beliefs and practices in the Maya highlands, examining ritual and technology, change, and risk taking. The issue of cooperation versus individualistic competition in Indian communities is the topic of chapter 3. Chapters 4, 5, and 6 deal with medical innovations. The role of the shaman is examined, a case study of one town is presented, and disease prevention is discussed. The schooling process in cultural perspective is the focus of chapter 7. The appendices contain: a journal article discussing the fate of two innovators in a Maya village; maps showing current language boundaries of and ethnographic studies conducted in Guatemala; a directory of Guatemalan institutions, libraries, and individuals with social science research interests; a glossary; and a bibliography of resources dealing with the Maya highlands. (RM)

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# STRANGER IN OUR MIDST

## Guided Culture Change in Highland Guatemala

Peter T. Furst
and
Karen B. Reed

SO 013 900

--An especially fearful group of spirits called bohwaletik roam the wooded hills in the late afternoon. These spirits, who look like Ladinos, are feared because they cut off people's heads to feed to the church bell in a neighboring town or to give to the spirits of major construction projects, such as dams...

June Nash, IN THE EYES OF
THE ANCESTORS

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P.T.F. and K.B.R.

# INTRODUCTION

## "Stranger in Our Midst"

This book is about Guatemalan Indians, the Maya-speaking peoples of the highlands. Its aim is to set down some of the cultural implications and problems of current efforts that aim toward "national integration" of traditional communities. These communities are increasingly subjected to accelerated processes of change from the outside, often with no more to go on than good intentions and without the benefit of more than the most superficial knowledge of contemporary or historical Indian society. What is missing most of all is insight into the kinds of traditional value systems that motivate and govern the society and the majority of its members.

The pitfalls in guided culture change are many. To point them out is not meant to take away the innovator's motivation. Rather, it is intended to help him achieve a certain objectivity; to help him dissociate as far as possible from his own cultural values without romantically overvaluing the "underdeveloped" culture. From that vantage point he will be better able to identify the

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traditional culture's real shortcomings, earn the respect and confidence of its bearers, and assist them in adopting those modifications that will make the culture more workable within the context of the modern nation-state.

To do so it is necessary to get rid of certain preconceptions. The culture into which the innovator moves is not really "deficient" in anything. It is not backward. It is not out of step. The idea that a group of people is outdated and must be modernized, brought up-to-date, is preposterous. It is ethnocentrism at its most glaring. Yet we reinforce it constantly by calling much of the world and its myriad functioning cultures "underdeveloped."

Underdeveloped by whose standards? Within and of itself, no culture is underdeveloped. The weakest culture, in our eyes, is in reality a successful system: a delicately balanced organism which has been adapting successfully for thousands of years, surviving all kinds of changes, and making those modifications necessary to preserve its equilibrium through time. From this it follows that there is no such thing as an "unchanging" culture. A society incapable of adapting is doomed to extinction. That can hardly be said of people who have lived in the same highland environment for at least five thousand years, passing in the process from hunting and collecting to milpa agriculture, adapting to a complex indigenous civilization and surviving its destruction, and enduring as viable peasant communities through the enormously disruptive religious, political, and economic changes of conquest, colonization, and independence. They were able to do so not by refusing to change, but rather by selecting those innovations that they considered most harmonious with their cultural system and by adopting them at a pace that allowed for absorption without serious disruption of any of the sectors that, together, make up the cultural whole.

It is this ability of cultural systems to select innovations that prove workable in their particular environmental and cultural settings that assures survival--not mindless conservatism at one extreme, or adoption of change for its own sake, regardless of the consequences, at the other extreme. If there is one vital warning signal for guided culture change it should read "GO SLOW!" If change is too sudden, if innovations that threaten internal balance are forced upon a culture, with resultant disruptions of vital

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sectors, the whole system will collapse. History is full of such examples, but we rarely learn from them.

A culture--any culture--must be approached as a system in equilibrium; as something more than an accidental collection of traits. It is a unified whole, with its constituent parts consistent with and adjusted to one another. The equilibrium is not static, however. It is borrowed or invented, and it may be completely destroyed by too sudden and fundamental a series of changes.

The innovator must accept that his own culture is only one of many such systems and that it is in no vital way different from or superior to any or all of the others. Western man might consider himself fortunate that his culture has chosen applied science for special elaboration, rather than religious ceremonial or head-hunting. But only an incurable optimist would maintain that our religious beliefs, our treatment of the environment, our attitudes toward sex and reproduction, our human relationships, or our political institutions are more rational than those of other cultures, including the most exotic.

But if cultures are indeed systems in

equilibrium, what justification is there for guided culture change? The answer is that each culture has within it a normal component of negative aspects. These are to be found in all cultures, "simple" or "complex." As a rule, the normal dose of negative elements can be overcome by normal cultural processes. But it can also happen that because of overspecialization or for some other reason a culture may elaborate a particular sector at the expense of others and thereby create roadblocks to its own internal development and even threaten its internal equilibrium. Our own culture provides a case in point. For a generation now, we have concentrated on the development of ever more sophisticated and destructive instruments of war (as well as the technology of space exploration). In the process, our weapons systems have acquired [illegible] dynamic of their own, becoming constantly more complex, expensive, quickly obsolescent and difficult to reconcile with the urgent needs of other sectors of our culture. Our internal equilibrium is disturbed and there is fear that it may collapse entirely. In the Maya case, there is reason to believe that the spiraling overelaboration of religious ceremonialism that characterized the classic period may have had similarly negative effects and eventually contributed to, if not actually caused, the collapse of classic civilization in the ninth century A.D. It is doubtful, however, that many Maya were cognizant of what was happening or that they could have done anything about it if they were.

Such dramatic overelaborations can be seen as aberrant growths, of a potentially disastrous nature somewhat analogous to runaway cell growth: unlike minor pathological conditions, the human organism finds it difficult to control without help from outside.

Less spectacularly, the small-scale societies of the Maya highlands are also beset by negative elements within their cultural systems. Some represent the normal dose that is present in any culture and can be dealt with satisfactorily by the society's internal dynamics. But these societies no longer live in a world of their own. Unlike the natural environment, the social environment that surrounds them -- to which they must adapt if they are to survive -- is not neutral. On the contrary, it is highly active, exerts numerous pressures and makes demands, while itself experiencing accelerated change on many levels. In this context, internal cultural dynamics are insufficient to deal with even the normal dose of the negative, much less with any potential aberrant growths that might impede the culture's ability to adapt. It is not that the culture is in itself weak, or backward, or underdeveloped, but rather that the external world is too impatient to allow for those orderly processes of adaptation that served so well in the non-technological past. It is this that justifies the whole concept of guided culture change.

It should not be forgotten that the most urgent problems besetting these societies, which call for intervention, are not their own creation but were thrust upon them by external forces over which they had no control. If they are underfed it is not because they never learned to cultivate the soil but because the richest lands and natural resources have been appropriated by others. If there is social inequality it is because others have the power to enforce their assumed superiority. Of course, there has always been sickness, but the most debilitating diseases afflicting the highland Indians today are European in origin. The needle is more effective against measles and smallpox than the shaman's chant, but these and other illnesses were unknown in the Americas before the conquest. Pollution of drinking water was never a problem before the Spaniards introduced domestic animals. The livelihood and skill of potters and weavers were never in question before the machine age. Loans, credit or merchandising were no problem until these communities were drawn into the money economy. And, finally, if there is pressure for economic and social integration of the highlands into the nation-state, it is because of national ideals and the need for Guatemala to compete in the world market, not because the Indians themselves are especially conscious of a larger citizenship than that of their own community.

It is in relation to these and related problems that certain aspects of the native culture may indeed be aberrant, even if they are perfectly compatible with the indigenous elements of the total system. But who is to tell a society that a certain elaboration is counter-productive and that its replacement with an innovation will facilitate development and make the culture more viable in the face of external pressures? Clearly this can best be done by someone who is not a member of the culture (or, in another context, one who has succeeded in disassociating himself to some extent from his own culture -- what an anthropologist has called "purposeful alienation"). The reason is that, as a rule, members of a culture who are deeply committed to it are likely to consider most of its elaborations perfectly normal; they are unable to perceive when these become aberrant or counter-productive. They may even regard any questioning of such elaborations as an attack on the culture as a whole.

If not in so many words, the ultimate aim and effect of the innovator's efforts is to help the Indians break a centuries-old pattern of exploitation and dependence. The implications of this are far-reaching. At the same time, however, he should be under no illusion that adoption of innovations will automatically result in national integration. There is no question that manifestly disinterested government-sponsored assistance to the Indians should bring with it a somewhat greater consciousness of belonging to the larger nation. Ironically, however, it has lately been found that socio-economic efforts to bring about Indian integration tend to strengthen rather than weaken group solidarity and ethnicity. This has been the experience in Mexico, where the expressed goal of the Instituto Nacional Indigenista is national integration: making the presently marginal Indian a productive participant in all phases of Mexican national life. But the Indian response to local development has been to become more firmly attached to his own lifeway as an Indian, at the same time selecting and adapting those aspects of the national society that he finds most beneficial.

To put it another way, it is not that development efforts are making the Indian more "indigenous"; rather it is that the removal of some of the more obvious disadvantages of a depressed economic and social status enhances the ability of the Indians to continue to be themselves. Because they are used to adapting to changing circumstances all around them, they will gradually select innovations that prove useful and reject those that threaten their internal stability. But they do not cease to be Indians.

It may be that this is an inevitable and necessary developmental stage in the evolution of the plural society within the boundaries of modern nation-states with ethnically and culturally diverse populations. That this stage is not confined to so-called "underdeveloped" or "emerging" nations is clear from the recent experience of the United States, where the socio-economic reality of ethnic minorities has never fit the myth of the melting pot.

These opening remarks, like the rest of the book, are intended to be a guide, not an encyclopedia. This introduction, it is hoped, will alert the stranger in the Maya world to some intricacies of social behavior and their ideological basis. There is no attempt to cover in detail every topic related to traditional culture or the processes of change, although the reader will find a variety of practical issues discussed. One often hears the word "primitive" in relation to small-scale societies such as those of the Guatemalan highlands, but the truth is that the Indian world and the problems of culture change (whether guided or spontaneously generated by internal dynamics) that impinge upon it are far too complex to be contained even in a considerable library, let alone a single volume. This book should be read as a kind of cultural road map, emphasizing selected landmarks of concern to national, regional and, above all, local planning and action programming, and warning of trouble spots in the cultural landscape where the going is likely to be rough for the stranger.

Above all, it deals with ideas, not by themselves in a vacuum but in the context of the daily struggle for existence--agriculture, nutrition, health and disease, community cooperation and conflict, education, and the like. There is no single chapter devoted specifically to religion, neatly categorized and pigeonholed and divorced from the rest of life, as if ideology and values belonged on some separate plane, pertaining only to certain days of the week or certain actions of man. Rather, religion--or, if you will, ideology--is discussed in its proper context: everywhere. This is because nothing a Maya farmer does is without this overriding ideological component, whether it be the choice of seeds to place in the ground, the use of fertilizers for his *milpa* (maize field), the protection of a water hole against pollution by animals, the building of a house, or the curing of a sick child. This pervasive ideological component consists of a great complex of beliefs and rituals which represent a blend of pre-Hispanic traditions and those introduced by force or persuasion by the Spanish conquerors in the sixteenth century and after. It involves sacred concepts of how the world was ordered and why; what man's place is in the universe and how he relates to his land, his plants, his animals, his community, the living and the dead; and how he must act to assure his own survival and that of his kinfolk. It has been the painful experience of too many planners that to ignore or dismiss these ideas as mere "superstition" or quaint folk beliefs of no consequence to technical or socio-economic development programming is to insure failure from the start.

Take, for example, the belief in head-taking *bohwaletiks*, cited above. As it happens, that belief exists in a Tzeltal-speaking community in the Maya highlands of Chiapas, Mexico, rather than in Guatemala. But rural Maya culture trascends modern political boundaries, and the same tradition, or one very much like it, might be encountered almost anywhere in the highlands. It says a great deal about Maya attitudes toward Ladinos, but is it really more than an outlandish superstition? Is it of relevance only to Maya-Ladino relations but not to efforts to modernize a particular community? On the contrary, it is precisely this kind of belief and the world view it represents that will confront the promoter of change; he should be prepared to deal with it. Otherwise, his best efforts may be frustrated without his ever understanding why.

The roots of the belief in bohwaletiks -- and of other ideas about the supernatural -- may lie in ancient Maya religion and in the effects of conquest and colonization on Maya society. A thousand and more years ago, before European invasions, the Maya constructed great temples, pyramids, and other religious structures. Many of these contain evidence of human sacrifice: people as well as animals were sacrificed to the ancestral spirits and presumably to the souls of the sacred buildings themselves when they were erected. Today, chickens, turkeys, and sheep are sacrificed when a new house is built, in the belief that each structure has its own spirit or soul. (A plot of earth, a spring, a hill, a tree, a mountain, people, animals -- all are believed to have souls.)

The archaeological record also shows that offerings of heads were common. Severed skulls have been found in many sites, and there were symbolic offerings of heads beautifully sculptured in lime plaster. Sometimes plaster and real skulls were combined: a plaster portrait head might contain a skull, perhaps of a sacrificial victim or deceased ancestor.*

Post-conquest history gives other clues to possible origins of the bohwaletik idea. The conquerors exacted an enormous toll of Indian life in exploiting mineral resources and constructing churches and palaces. Innumerable Indians died as forced laborers on colonial Spanish construction projects. The idea of human sacrifice in connection with the erection of sacred Maya edifices and the experience of lives sacrificed for the colonialists' purposes may well have persisted through time as elements of traditional thought. The belief in supernatural beings who cut off people's heads as offerings to spirits inhabiting dams and other construction projects, including churches and church bells, is less fantastic seen in terms of the past.

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*An example may be seen in Father Ildefonso Rossbach's little archaeological museum in Chichicastenango in the Department of Quiché, in the western highlands of Guatemala.

How real the head-taking bohwaletiks are to the Indians can be seen from anthropologist June Nash's account of how lone Ladinos found wandering about at night near the community in which she lived have been killed by Indians in the belief that they were not humans but manifestations of bohwaletiks.

Of course, it is hardly possible to predict precisely how a belief in spirits who take human heads -- or for that matter any other indigenous tradition -- might impinge upon a particular socio-economic project. But such prediction is not the purpose of this book. What is needed is some intellectual and emotional preparation for the consequences of a view of the world in which witches and spirits are as real and commonplace as, let us say, moon landings are to the children of the television age. Nevertheless, there is a special problem here, to which we alluded briefly above. It may well happen that a supernatural belief such as the belief in head-taking spirits, will block the best-laid plans of a community development worker, without his ever learning the true reason that people didn't show up to

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start digging the irrigation project that they had all agreed would be of great economic benefit to the community. It is not that people are so secretive about their beliefs. There are any number of good, detailed studies of traditional beliefs in Maya communities (after all, the Indians themselves told June Nash about the existence of the bohwaletiks in her Tzeltal village). Nor is there necessarily a wish to deceive. The trouble is that the Indian, no matter how isolated in the physical sense or how "tradition-bound" ideologically, is hardly unaware of the attitudes of the modern world toward his deeply-held beliefs, whether they are purely pre-Hispanic or a mixture of ancient Maya and colonial Christian traditions. It may even be that he himself is ambivalent about the existence of a particular kind of spirit. But in all cases he will be reluctant to expose himself as "backward" and "uncivilized" to a stranger, an educated man, someone representing the modern, outside world. Priests and missionaries have been telling him for centuries that his most deeply felt religious beliefs are "falsehoods" and "superstitions," if not worse. His beliefs have persisted nevertheless. But he also knows quite well that a lot of people, even those who profess to admire Indian culture, regard his ideology as little more than quaint folk beliefs; outmoded impediments to modernization and socio-economic development.* Why, then, should he lay himself open to ridicule? Instead, he becomes defensive and secretive. He does not wish to admit to believing that if a construction project was begun, evil beings might cut off heads to offer to the spirit of the new project. If he is challenged about his reasons for voting for the dam or the anti-erosion barrier and then failing to show up to do the work, he may offer a dozen excuses, all perfectly "logical" but all unrelated to the real issue. The true reason remains unspoken. It may even be unconscious. No one comes out and says, "Yes, Don Ricardo, it is as you say, this project may help us, it may be of great economic benefit. But we would rather not take a chance on losing our heads. After all, we managed to get along all these years without the dam."

What all this boils down to is that cross-cultural communication is an enormously difficult and complex art--which is not to say that it can never be mastered, or that Indians and non-Indians live in such totally different worlds that no one can bridge the gap on any level whatever. What needs to be emphasized over and over again is that it is a matter of different worlds, not just of different languages. There is nothing wrong with taking the stand that since Indians are, after all, human beings, it should not be too hard for outsider and Indian to find some common ground, some means of relating to one another. It is not wrong; it is just simplistic. We have to learn to accept that the reality of head-snatching witches can be and often is more powerful than the reality of economic benefit from modernization. It is a question of different world views; different value systems.

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*As field workers have discovered over and over, many Indian beliefs are in fact shared by the Ladinos who live in the same community, a fact that helps to reinforce the Indian's confidence in the validity of his own traditions.

Language, of course, enters in. Both North American development worker and Indian have to translate what they want to convey to each other into a third language that both speak imperfectly (namely, Spanish), which hardly makes it easier to cross the cultural gulf. The anthropological linguist Edward Sapir (1951) pointed out years ago in an essay on linguistics as a science that people do not live in an objective world alone but are very much at the mercy of the language that, over a long period of time, has evolved into the communal medium of expression and communication in their society:

> It is quite an illusion to imagine that one adjusts to reality essentially without the use of language, and that language is merely an incidental means of solving specific problems of communication or reflection. The fact of the matter is that the "real world" is to a large extent unconsciously built up on the language habits of the group...The worlds in which different societies live are distinct worlds, not merely the same world with different labels attached.

In addition to learning a totally new set of symbols, a new spoken and "silent" language, and a new life style, then, the agent of change in rural Guatemala will be forced to come to terms with a totally different way of codifying reality, a totally alien world view. Just what does this world view consist of? In general terms, what the anthropologist Sol Tax said about Guatemalan Indian ideology in 1941 still holds true today:

> ...sun and earth, river and hill are anthropomorphized; animals talk; plants have emotions; it is possible for a hoe to work alone; such things as fire and maize are capable of direct punitive action. A pair of twins, a mute, and a six-toed man have special powers; a woman by her organic nature is

dangerous to masculine strength; some people have such natures that with a look they bring disease to one who is 'weak of blood.' Animals, plants, humans alike change their natures with the phases of the moon. People can change into animals; ghosts are always abroad; the soul of a person leaves his body for hours or days while he still lives. Sorcery is a commonplace, and an important part in treatment of disease is divination and ritual... These are not simply superstitions still left to a few old people; they are part of the life of the community, shared by old and young alike and normally taken into consideration in determining courses of action. They are premises upon which the people ordinarily reason and the considerations which shape action: you do not buy lumber that was cut in the waxing moon because you know it will rot quickly; you place the skull of a horse in the sheep corral to keep out coyotes; you do not fret at climbing a hill lest the land itself give you a terrible sickness; you try to show no fear when you meet a werewolf, lest it conquer you; you tie a woman's skirt over the horns of a bull to make him tractable; you cover the stump of a felled fruit tree lest it be ashamed before its fellows; you do what you can to avert catastrophe when a dream augurs ill; you know that barbed wire makes a superior fence because while coyotes by verbal agreement pass through other

> fences, they cannot strike a bargain with barbed wire that, coming from abroad, speaks a different language" (Tax 1941: 38-39).

It may be that today there are fewer areas where all or most of these concepts play an important role in community life. Nevertheless, a similar orientation to the surrounding world can be found in much of contemporary Guatemala, including communities that enjoy considerable access to the outside world. For example, Cantel is a Quiché-speaking community in the western highlands, where a textile factory was introduced in 1876. The influence of the factory workers' union has changed the town's political structure; age and previous service in the civil-religious hierarchy no longer count so heavily in selecting leaders. The presence of the factory, however, has not altered other traditional views and practices in the community. The people of Cantel still unconditionally accept "folk" ideas as part of their daily life. Their acceptance extends to remedies, means and techniques of curing, myths of origin, and the well-known tradition (distributed over much of Latin America) that foods, objects, and people are "hot" or "cold," as well as the beliefs that the smoke of incense and candles takes prayers to the ancestors or the heavens, that the sacrifice of a lamb drives death from a family, that the soul of a house resides in the main house post, that an eclipse is a battle between good and evil, and so forth.

It is unlikely that every development worker will find precisely those beliefs in his or her community. Even "hot" and "cold" classifications (which are purely ideological and have no relationship to actual temperature or taste) may vary from region to region and community to community: what is considered "hot" in one may well be "cold" in another, and vice versa. On the other hand, anthropologists have also found only minor variations between communities in the same region in a whole series of traditional beliefs. Robert Hinshaw (1966) recently studied the world view of Panajachel, a modified Indian town on the north shore of Lake Atitlán. In ten other towns on Lake Atitlán, he administered a questionnaire containing 120 beliefs from Panajachel and surrounding areas. He found that almost all of the beliefs were shared by the people of the ten communities. Clyde M. Woods (1968) found much the same to be true in San Lucas Tolimán, where half of his sample of forty households subscribed to forty-six out of forty-eight beliefs listed by him in his questionnaire, while 75 percent accepted thirty-two out of forty-eight. In addition, many of his informants admitted that they were aware of the beliefs but were reluctant to confirm their validity. According to Woods,

> it is highly probable, too, that both acceptance and awareness would have received higher scores were it not for the Indian's knowledge that the more progressive groups in the community see his beliefs as an indication of backwardness (p. 113).

Woods confirms what was said on an earlier page: the Indians are reluctant to demonstrate apparent "ignorance" in the face of ridicule from Ladino, Protestant and Catholic Action sources, an attitude that the Indians themselves confirmed in interviews. But that does not mean that they do not in fact continue to cling to their traditions.

On the other hand, while many traditions are bound to be similar or identical throughout a sizeable area of the highlands and may even transcend linguistic boundaries, it must be realized that there can also be cultural diversity among communities in the same geographical region or language group. One must acquire a "feel" for generalized Maya highland culture, but never at the expense of remaining open to local differences.

Hopefully, once the innovator learns to

be aware of the existence of the multitude of traditional beliefs, their function in maintaining community equilibrium, and their effect on efforts at modernization, he will find it easier to live with the traditions of the community where he works. It helps to acknowledge from the start that the Indian community is not just a different geographical place; it is a different ideological universe. The principles and beliefs that guide that universe, whether conscious or unconscious, explicit or implicit, will inevitably affect the innovator's success or failure as an agent of change.

The examples of differences in social behavior and ideology presented here can be taken as a kind of preventive medicine: a tonic to alleviate, if not cure, the predictable and, indeed, inevitable frustrations and discouragements of community or socio-economic development work in Indian Guatemala,* whether carried out by a national or international agency, the Peace Corps, or any one of several church-affiliated, private, or public organizations presently engaged in guided culture change. It is, of course, easy to become discouraged by the wide variety of beliefs and of practices based upon these beliefs, especially since some appear totally contradictory to one another. The different examples in these initial pages, as well as throughout the book, were chosen to illustrate the many possible reasons for social behavior in a particular community. Forearmed with some awareness of the existence of a variety of traditions vastly different from his own, the stranger in the Maya world, if he is observant and patient enough, should be able to decipher the actions of people around him and pick up the cultural cues essential for his own survival and that of his project. Ideally, he will also be able to become sensitized to the way his own behavior and actions may be perceived by others.

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*Or anywhere else, for that matter. See, for example, Moritz Thompson's recent book, Living Poor (University of Washington Press, 1969), a moving and highly instructive account of his four years as a Peace Corps Volunteer in rural, but non-Indian, Ecuador.

## COMMUNICATION: VERBAL AND NON-VERBAL

Curiously enough, the concept of culture as communication -- communication that relies upon many things besides spoken or written language -- has only recently begun to penetrate the realm of international development planning. Edward T. Hall's classic *The Silent Language* was first published in 1959 and has since been reprinted in many editions. It is used in Peace Corps training and in foreign service institutes. One would think that everyone involved in international or intercultural relations, whether on the diplomatic or community action level, has not only read it but understood its implications for behavior abroad; in short, has come to recognize: (1) the vital role of non-verbal communication in human affairs; and (2) the fact that systems of non-verbal communication, being artifacts of culture as well as helping to shape culture, differ as widely as do the innumerable spoken languages and cultural systems prevailing throughout the world.

Unfortunately, these insights are still lacking among many North Americans traveling or working abroad and also among their national counterparts; sad to say, in our own educational system all too few teachers or administrators have grasped the simple truth that gestures, facial expressions, body movements and other aspects of "the silent language" differ from ethnic group to ethnic group even in the United States. To cite but one example: in the summer of 1969, an "Anglo" teacher from a Southwest Indian school attending an institute on teaching English as a second language was heard to boast to her colleagues that it had taken her "only six weeks of rapping knuckles" with a ruler to get her pupils to look her in the face when answering questions or listening to her lecture. She was completely unaware that to look someone in the face while speaking to him violates traditional Indian concepts of polite behavior; it is considered very rude. She had erected an invisible but impenetrable wall of hostility and suspicion between herself and her students, and the effects on their ability to learn from her and her ability to teach them are predictable.*

In contemporary Maya culture, too, looking at a person while addressing him has very specific and generally undesirable implications. It is essential that these be well understood and accepted by anyone who is to have day-to-day dealings with Indians. Moreover, it appears that they have deep historical roots, so that here again we see the need for some knowledge of Maya prehistory through such basic sources as are generally available. These include especially the Popol Vuh, the sacred book of the Quiché Maya, which dates from early post-conquest times and sets down the cosmological concepts and traditions of the Quiché, the story of the Creation and their own origin and the chronology of their rulers from the mythological beginnings to the year A.D. 1550. We single out the Popol Vuh here because it is in its pages that one may find a historical basis for certain behavioral characteristics common to the highland Maya as well as other Mesoamerican Indians. In a study of personality patterns among the Tzotzil of Zinacantán, Chiapas, Benjamin N. Colby (1964) found that certain concepts of human nature and certain behavior based upon these beliefs had their historical or mythological counterpart in the Popol Vuh and were also to be found in Fray Bernardino de Sahagún's monumental sixteenth-century chronicles (known as the Florentine Codex).

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*Unfortunately, few educational authorities are sensitized to a culturally-determined "silent language" as a fact of life in every classroom, so they all too often misinterpret

According to Colby, Zinacantecans view human nature as potentially evil and dangerous and the supernaturals as inconsistent and undependable. These premises are accepted as basic facts of life: things that the society

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the non-verbal behavior of ethnic minority students. The Black or Chicano child himself cannot necessarily explain the "silent language" to his teacher because non-verbal behavior, like other artifacts of culture, is more often absorbed by unconscious imitation than through explicit training. In any case, would the teacher listen?

must cope with through a highly rational social order and the self-discipline of its members.

In interpersonal contacts, the viewpoint expresses itself in a fear of close personal engagement; to avoid such close engagement is a defense against evil-intentioned people. This is where avoidance of the direct and sustained look comes in:

> The fear of close personal engagement focuses especially on two aspects of the communications process between people: looking at people and talking to people.
>
> In certain contexts two Zinacantan conversationalists avoid looking at each other directly. Although this occurs most frequently between a man and a woman (adultery is the most frequent source of dispute in Zinacantan) reluctance also has been observed between men. Since the face is sometimes metaphorically used to represent one's total personality in Zinacantan, a direct and sustained look at the face of a stranger is an invasion of his privacy and an affront to his autonomy (Colby 1964:126).

This behavior can be related directly to the *Popol Vuh*, where it is made clear in several passages that looking at someone's face, especially without letting him see your own clearly, is to achieve dominance over him. To cite Colby again:

> In the Popol Vuh when the gods of the underworld inadvertently made themselves known the expression used was "they showed their faces." And when Hunahpu and Xbalanque* approached these deities the text reads: "And looking into their faces, they spoke the name of all, without missing the name of a single one of them." In this episode the deities were thrown into confusion, not only because they had themselves been identified in such a manner but because they did not know the faces of Hunahpu and Xbalanque: "This really troubles us, because it is not well what they do. Their faces are strange, and strange is their conduct."
>
> From the Popol Vuh and from field observation in Zinacantan one can infer that to look directly into a stranger's face and call him by name in certain contexts is to show dominance over him or to express assertion toward him. To avoid looking directly into someone's face is a courtesy (Ibid.).

The social costs of failure to recognize the meaning of an averted face in the context of the local culture are serious enough when only a few individuals are involved. In Peru, however, a whole costly experiment in mass teaching by television was doomed by the same failure. Some years ago, Peruvian education authorities discovered that few if any of the numerous television sets that had been installed at great expense in Quechua-speaking communities were being turned on, even though the educational programs were broadcast in the Indians' own language. The reason? Peruvian Indians in those communities are accustomed to conversing with averted faces and were made uncomfortable by the direct gaze of the teachers on the television screen. The "eye contact" that we demand of our TV personalities was a total liability as far as the Indians were concerned.

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*Hunahpu is the principal divinity of the Quiché Maya; he is also the deified Sun. Xbalanque is his brother who became the Moon. Their heroic deeds are related in the Popol Vuh at length.

The need for cultural orientation -- for Peace Corps workers, diplomats, businessmen, or even tourists -- was described very well by Hall (1959:14-15):

> ...formal training in the language, history, government, and customs of another nation is only the first step in a comprehensive program. Of equal importance is an introduction to the non-verbal language which exists in every country in the world and among the various groups within each country. Most Americans are only dimly aware of this silent language even though they use it every day. They are not conscious of the elaborate patterning of

> behavior which prescribes our handling of time, our spatial relationships, our attitudes toward work, play and learning. In addition to what we say with our verbal language we are constantly communicating our real feelings in our silent language--the language of behavior. Sometimes this is correctly interpreted by other nationalities, but more often it is not.

Unfortunately, familiarity with the subtleties of non-verbal communication and the meaning of spatial relationships between individuals in another culture does not necessarily mean that you can ever be quite comfortable with them. A returned Volunteer on a Peace Corps recruiting trip told a group of Los Angeles undergraduates that he never was able to rid himself completely of a deep-seated aversion to hand-holding among men in Afghanistan and whenever possible tried to avoid shaking hands, lest his hand be held longer than his own culture told him was "proper" among males.

Hand-holding or walking arm-in-arm is by no means unusual in Latin America, either, and most assuredly does not imply homosexuality there any more than in Afghanistan. One of the first, and often most difficult, demands placed on the North American when he is immersed in the Latin American social context is that of becoming comfortable with such practices and others which require physical contact in interpersonal relations. North Americans enculturated to Anglo-Saxon norms are not generally accustomed to close physical contact, especially in public, in face-to-face communication with strangers or even friends. Such behavior is considered "unmanly" and often taken as a sign of sexual deviance. Ill at ease even with the customary prolonged handshake, they may well find the abrazo, or embrace, physically repellent. The abrazo and other forms of physical closeness among males in Latin America are derived more from Mediterranean than from aboriginal Indian culture. Since many Indians have adopted it from their Ladino neighbors, however, a North American would have to learn somehow to shed himself of his cultural feelings and become comfortable with an occasional embrace from a male. Actually he should feel flattered for an abrazo expresses personal acceptance and warm feelings far beyond a mere handshake.

The silent language, or non-verbal communication, is especially important if the Volunteer lacks complete mastery of the spoken language. Inability to function effectively in verbal communication is, of course, always extremely frustrating, but it can be alleviated to some extent if one can at least learn appropriate gestures, facial expressions and other elements of non-verbal communication peculiar to the local community. Alone in a village and unsure of his ability to express himself in the local idiom, the non-Indian development worker will certainly have greater success in breaching the initial barriers and will achieve a greater degree of self-confidence and inner peace if he can quickly absorb the appropriate and expected non-verbal language and accept it as a vital part of this strange new world he is attempting to understand, and which is attempting to understand him. This is even more important in highland Indian villages, where many if not most people will probably speak Spanish with little more fluency than he.

Even the seemingly innocuous North American custom of exchanging names at the first meeting may start a stranger off on the wrong foot in an indigenous community. Sandra and Jack Liskin, a young Los Angeles couple doing anthropological field work in the small highland village of San Jorge La Laguna in the area of Lake Atitlán in 1969, had just that experience:

> Like most North Americans, we have the habit of exchanging names with

> people we meet, asking them theirs and telling them ours. However, when we asked some children their names, they threw a barrage of different names at us, changing them constantly, so that we never really knew for sure what their names were. Another time, at the communal clothes-washing basin, in the presence of others, we asked a girl what her name was, and she appeared very embarrassed and hesitant to reply. On the other hand, men in the village gave their names freely when asked, but never volunteered them. Only later did we resolve the confusion this created for us, and that was when we finally discovered that people in the town are not accustomed to using their given names, even among themselves, and often have auxiliary second names which they do use. People generally do not refer to neighbors or relatives by names, but instead specify the relationship or location of the people in question. Some children even expressed a fear that they would die if we took their names, which we had written down, to the United States with us (personal communication).

Similar attitudes, especially with respect to the names of children, have been reported from highland Bolivia by anthropologist John Goins in his study of the Quechua-speaking community of Huayculi (1967). Taboos against the use of proper names are quite common among American Indians. That was true even of Ishi, the last survivor of his California Indian tribe, who was immortalized by Theodore Kroeber's moving account (1963). Ishi was not his name; the Berkeley anthropologists who befriended him and learned from him called him that because, true to the custom of his vanished people, he would never reveal to them his true Indian name. Again, let no one think that a common reluctance to reveal one's given name to a stranger means there is such a thing as a pan-Indian culture; on the other hand, it should alert us to the fact that our own cultural norm regarding the free exchange of personal names is in no sense universal.

Apart from being careful about names, in talking with people the Peace Corps Volunteer will find himself more quickly accepted socially if he can overcome the North American tendency to be direct and to the point. The direct and "open" manner of addressing people and dealing with problems, considered proper in the United States ("stop beating around the bush!"), is regarded as abrupt, discourteous, and often downright offensive in many other cultures, not only in Latin America but in much of the rest of the world. The cultural problem is compounded when the innovator speaks no Indian language and only imperfect Spanish, because in that case he may sound even more abrupt than usual. On the other hand, even broken Spanish is better than none. He will find that most people are polite, patient, eager to assist and willing to overlook inadvertent rudenesses that are clearly due to language difficulties. Nevertheless, it is a problem that the stranger must be aware of. It is here that the subtleties of non-verbal communication can be of enormous help in relieving difficulties of mutual understanding and possible tensions. A frank and humorous admission by gesture and expression of one's own sense of inadequacy in this area is quickly understood and appreciated.

At the same time, the development worker, whatever his national origin or official affiliation, had better familiarize himself as soon as he can with the cultural norms in interpersonal relations if he expects to be accepted and become effective in his efforts. This takes time, because so much is implicit rather than explicit. But even at the beginning things will go more smoothly if he is ready to relax, forget his anxiety to "get going," stop thinking about national (or even local) needs as he perceives them, and take time simply to chat with people, rather than hammering away at the problems and aims that most concern him.

Even important matters of real urgency should always be prefaced with discreet inquiries about the family and the state of the crops. Although these appear to be mere social amenities, the development worker must learn to be a good listener and show sincere interest in the people and their way of life if he wants his service in the community to be truly effective. These would seem to be almost naively basic rules, but it does not hurt to recall them from time to time.

Needless to say, there are also pitfalls in matters of simple conversation. In Zinacantán, for example (and in other Maya communities as well), unusual ability in talking "reveals a kind of social and perhaps supernatural power within the individual and because individuals are (unless proven otherwise) inclined to evil intent as a law of human nature, the domination of one person over another in conversation can be anxiety-producing" (Colby 1964:127).

For that reason, just as it is a courtesy to avoid looking at someone's face for any length of time, it is a courtesy also to equalize a conversation as much as possible in certain situations.

Equalizing the conversation can take several forms, but it always has one aim--the preservation of one person's autonomy and prestige vis-à-vis another. For example:

> In conversations between Zinacantecans that do not know each other well or in some other situations it is incumbent upon the listener to participate as much as possible even if it means only a repetition of the last few words or the interposing of interjections at appropriate places, so that there is a tendency to equalize conversation and to avoid termination of the conversation in any way that may seem abrupt. On some occasions of formal etiquette, in addition to prolonging conversation talking is done with no apparent regard to listening because two people are talking to each other at the same time (Colby 1964:127).

From these and other observations, Colby concludes:

> In Zinacantan society talking, etiquette, drinking, and the related prolongation and resistance patterns protect the autonomy, establish the reliability and promote the good will of the participants. Proper talking and etiquette are a stabilizing influence that smooths over the roughness of social contacts, helps reduce tension and provides reassurance in a situation inherently imbued with anxiety. The channelling of communication in Zinacantan is indeed a highly complex subject. It mitigates the incompatibility between a social order which includes status hierarchy and a personal autonomy

which makes for equality (Ibid.).

All of this has important implications for the interpersonal relations that the non-Indian development worker will seek to establish with the Indians. But that is a matter of time--perhaps considerable time. In the beginning, and perhaps forever, his relationships will differ markedly from those of the Indians between themselves, whatever their individual social status. Whether the agent of change is North American or Guatemalan, the Indians will mentally place him in a Ladino (and hence superordinate) position, in accordance with long-established and socially, economically, and politically reinforced patterns. This will not be to the liking of an agent of change who believes that if the Indian is ever to achieve emancipation and become a conscious and productive member of the nation (rather than only of his closed community) these traditional patterns must be broken. Nevertheless, it remains a fact of highland life.

## SUBTLETIES OF SOCIAL BEHAVIOR

During the initial stage of a potential innovator's stay in a community, he will be making an earnest attempt to get to know the people with whom he will be living and working. As a newcomer -- a stranger -- he will find himself under more or less subtle but nevertheless close scrutiny. The random acquaintances he strikes up will all be noted and usually given more significance than he might think they merit. For example, the apparently innocent and simple act of visiting some of his new neighbors could create quite a commotion in a community where, by custom, one almost never enters a neighbor's house and where even relatives visit only at the gate. Privacy is highly valued in a closed community such as San Jorge La Laguna, near Lake Atitlán. Over the decades, the traditional politico-religious organization, with its system of cargos and strong emphasis on service to the community, has kept most members of the community more or less on an equal economic level, or at least is supposed to have done so. It is assumed that if a person has fulfilled his ceremonial obligations to the community, his possessions should be about equal to his neighbors'. Any show of relative wealth or material improvement, even within the home, is socially disapproved.

In keeping with that philosophy, one should avoid finding out what one's neighbor has in his home, lest one become envious. The corollary is that one should also avoid showing off one's house to a neighbor, lest he become envious. Envy is potentially very dangerous; it is regarded as one of the basic causes of witchcraft. A person who envies another is believed to be capable of hiring someone to make malevolent magic against him, harming or even killing him or members of his family, his livestock, or his crops. Envy can also lead to bloodshed and assassination. It is symptomatic of the value system that even in a clear--cut case of murder, people may blame the victim more than the killer because the victim supposedly provoked feelings of envy in the killer and caused him to be manipulated by evil forces. At the same time, the stranger to the community should not be surprised if, at least at first, no one seems willing to extend any privacy to him and he finds himself faced by a constant stream of visitors to his house or room. This sort of curiosity can go to extraordinary lengths. Although Indian houses typically have no windows, a few years ago a missionary-linguist who settled for an extended stay in a Nahuatl-speaking Indian village in Veracruz, Mexico, was literally forced by the people to put windows in his house so that they could look in at any time, day or night. It wasn't that they were impolite and didn't value--indeed insist on --privacy. Rather, they were worried about the stranger in their midst and wished to make certain he was not engaging in secret witchcraft rituals that might harm them. This, of course, is a rather extreme example, but it does make the point.

Even in communities where visiting back and forth is commonly carried beyond the gate and into the house itself, the stranger will find it more comfortable and expedient to spend time at first in the plaza, the center of the town, where people normally gather to socialize and carry on business. Chatting with people there, he may soon receive an invitation to visit someone's home. Such planned visits will be much more successful than an unannounced appearance on an ordinary day when everyone is busy with chores and has little time to socialize. A visit with a specific purpose, or in response to an invitation, is considered reasonable and socially acceptable, whereas the typical North American custom of visiting "just to get acquainted" is not readily understood.

Peace Corps Volunteers and other potential innovators must realize that in many if not most Guatemalan highland communities, even closely acquainted or related women are likely to observe certain rather strict rules of behavior governing visiting. To quote the anthropologist Manning Nash (1958:56):

> A woman calls on another in terms of an errand provoked by necessity, some impelling need to seek a neighbor's company such as the buying or selling of a small item, the borrowing or lending of money, or the carrying of food in time of illness. The idle visit to exchange pleasantries is culturally prohibited, and gossip and the counsel given at marriage back these prohibitions. If a woman visits for pleasure, as she often does, it must be couched in the rationalization, plausible to both visitor and hostess, of some urgent and impersonal reason for seeking a neighbor's company during the time when there is work to do.

Here again, if the stranger is at least aware from the beginning that these problems exist and that social practices and usage are not universal, he will tread carefully for a while and familiarize himself with local patterns of behavior before he takes any action, even the most innocuous one.

Once accepted by some members of the community and introduced to others, the stranger must continue to observe intra-community relationships and move slowly in forming his own. This is said not to make him paranoid about his early associations, but rather to assist in avoiding difficulties that might easily arise from his ignorance of the complex social structure of the community. Imagine the effect on his relationships and projects were he to rent a room from someone reputed to be a brujo (witch)! One North American couple incurred the silent disapproval of the majority of a community because they unwittingly became friendly with a man considered to be a malevolent witch. Unaware of his reputation, they gave him rides in their jeep and were seen to visit his house on frequent occasions. The result was general lack of cooperation.

## FACTIONALISM

The innovator intending to stay in the community has to be especially careful not to form alliances or associations with any particular faction or individual before he has had a chance to feel out the community's attitudes. Identification with the parish priest, mayor, teacher, Indian leader, or Ladino merchant can easily determine the direction of the personal career of an innovator and the fate of his project--

either good or bad, depending on public attitudes toward the affiliation. The sociologist Irwin Press (1966) provides a case in point. He was doing applied research in Hach Pech, a Maya community in the Mexican state of Yucatán, and in the course of his work discovered that the Hach Pecheños strongly disapproved of the resident parish priest of the neighboring town of Oxhol. This enabled him to avoid a relationship that would certainly have doomed his project: the introduction of a hunting-lamp factory into the village. While looking for financial support for the projected factory, he writes, he received what might have seemed an attractive offer of a low-interest loan from the priest of Oxhol, who operated a credit union. Press, however,

> was reluctant to accept his offer since the priest was not at all trusted by the villagers and was viewed as money-hungry. In truth, he charged exorbitant fees for marriages and masses, the funds going to feed his numerous economic cooperative programs for Oxhol. These programs aided shoemakers, cabbage and tomato farmers, but not a single Hach Pecheño. The school teacher agreed that the priest's money was not welcome in the village (Press 1966:288).

Had he not spent considerable time listening to the Hach Pecheños to determine their attitudes, Press might have accepted the priest's offer and later wondered why the interest of the villagers in the project suddenly evaporated.

An interesting example of the complexity of factions and alignments comes from San Juan Ostuncalco, a municipio in the Mam-speaking area of the Department of Quezaltenango, in the western highlands of Guatemala (Ebel 1969:170-72). As a result of the presidential decree of 1927, abolishing Indian municipalities in municipios with substantial numbers of Ladinos, the separate Indian civil-religious hierarchy of Ostuncalco was permanently destroyed. Although the right to elect the alcalde municipal, or mayor, was re-established after the Revolution of 1944, the Indian system of civil-religious government was not revived. So it would be natural to assume that the traditional sector in a town like Ostuncalco could not possibly be very strong today. The contrary is true, however. Traditional forces are playing a leading role in the contemporary politics of Ostuncalco, in ways that the stranger had better be very much aware of, lest he align himself with the "wrong" grouping, to the detriment of his project.

To understand the Ostuncalco situation, it is necessary to go back to 1937. At that time, the church burned down and the sacred images had to be replaced. Numerous statues were donated. A group of *cofrades** raised funds to buy three of their own saints. One of their members was commissioned to do the buying. This man had the receipts for the purchases made out in his own name. Subsequently, the statues of the three saints were kept for a number of years in the homes of the leaders of the *cofradías* involved. Eventually, they were transferred to the rebuilt church.

The new priests sent to Ostuncalco after the reconstruction of the church were *catequistas*, belonging to the new reform wing of the Roman Catholic Church. They proceeded to attempt to "purify" Christianity in Ostuncalco by rooting out some of its characteristically traditional Indian elements. For example, they opposed the ritual drinking during religious fiestas and the participation of Catholics in the pagan-Christian rituals practiced by the Indian shamans and the leaders of the *cofradías*. To reduce the chances for carousing during religious celebrations, the priests decreed that all religious processions had to terminate before

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*Members of religious sodalities, known as *cofradías*.

midnight. They also tried to remove the responsibility for the major fiestas from the *cofradías* and place it in the hands of the *catequistas*. This effort to break the power of the *cofradías* remained the dominant political issue in the town for the next quarter century.

The issue went far beyond the practices of Indian Catholicism. It was a question of control--control of the life of the entire community. The question was who would win out and achieve dominance in Ostuncalco: town or country, Ladino or Indian, the groups representing political and social modernization or the forces supporting the traditional way of life.

These were the real issues at stake, and everyone knew it. But, on the surface, the debate centered not on such large philosophical questions but rather on control over the saints; that is, the statues that had been purchased by the cofradías and had come to be deposited in the church after being kept for some years in the homes of the leaders of the *cofradías* that had paid for them. The members of the *cofradías* contended that since their money had paid for the statues and since they held the legal receipt, they should have the right to house them outside the church. The priests, well aware that to control the saints is largely to control the religious life of the community, refused to let them leave the church premises. Moreover, they also forbade the cofradías themselves to use the church during fiestas.

The local branches of the national political parties took up opposing positions in the controversy over the saints. The Christian Democrats sided with the church; the anti-clerical parties supported the cofradías. This was to be expected, but it resulted in some curious alignments of factions: certain progressive elements in the community suddenly found themselves allied with politically conservative forces.

The situation in Ostuncalco became increasingly tense. The mayor elected in the 1961 campaign, a progressive Ladino businessman who had gained the support of a large proportion of the Indians by taking a stand in favor of the people who had purchased the images of the saints, later stated that he was threatened with lynching and eventually was forced to resign. The village priest claimed the cofrades were plotting to assassinate him and burn down the church. The issue was later resolved, at least on the surface, by a court decree that awarded the images to the trusteeship of the priest, and the internal politics of the community appeared to cool down. The traditional Indian faction continues to be a major force nonetheless, and all of the political parties are well aware of it as a potential power base of decisive proportions.

It is not hard to see how easily an outsider could step into the line of fire in a town so torn by religious and political factionalism, especially if he is unaware of its historical origins and the subtleties and euphemisms employed by the participants to mask the real issues at stake. Granted, Ostuncalco represents a somewhat extreme example. Village factionalism is not at all uncommon, however, and one cannot afford to overlook it as a potential obstacle to innovative programs.

Richard N. Adams (1955) cites an instructive example from the town of Magdalena, in the Department of Sacatepéquez, where a nutritional project of the Instituto de Nutrición de Centro América y Panamá (INCAP) ran into resistance, in large measure due to the personnel's ignorance of the importance of village factionalism:

> The social worker had noticed that people in one section of the village seemed to resent her activities more than those in the other. Although she was aware that the people of one section considered

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themselves somewhat different from those of the other, she did not regard this as particularly significant. When she began her work, she had made friends wherever possible, paying little attention to where they lived. She tended to make more friends in one section simply because the people there seemed more hospitable.

It soon became apparent that this difference between the two sections of the village was of considerable importance. These sections are called barrios, as in many Latin American communities. A barrio is a geographical subdivision of a village or town similar to wards in American cities. The nearest North American equivalent is the term "section." We refer to "the other side of the tracks" as a section of town; we say that over in "that section" they do things in such and such a way. The barrio, however, is more clearly delineated; everyone knows exactly where his barrio stops and the next begins. Furthermore, each person is aware of being a member of a given barrio. Barrios are usually named, and the people who live in a barrio are referred to by the barrio name.

Just as people who live in different "sections" of town are thought to behave somewhat differently from those who live elsewhere, so the members of different barrios are thought to have slightly different characteristics. In Magdalena the two sections were known as the Upper

Barrio and the Lower Barrio. The terms "Upper" and "Lower" referred to their respective positions on the side of the hill on which Magdalena is located rather than to relative social ranking, although the members of each barrio tended to look down on their opposite numbers. Upper Barrio members were much more conservative than those of the Lower. While all members of the Upper Barrio belong to the Catholic Church, there were a number of Lower Barrio families who had been converted to Protestantism, and even some who professed no religion.

Even in everyday customs, the members of the Lower Barrio considered themselves more progressive; they made less use of the Indian language and of certain features of the Indian woman's costume. The Upper Barrio people, for their part, tended to regard the residents of the Lower Barrio as "pagans" who showed little respect for religion or traditional customs. In recent years the Upper Barrio has remained with the conservative element of the country's population and has supported conservative candidates in the national elections; the Lower Barrio has supported liberal and radical candidates. At the time of the study, this meant that the Lower Barrio was progovernment and the Upper was antigovernment.

In making friends wherever she could, the social worker had become more closely associated with the Upper Barrio. This process was circular; as she made more friends

> in one barrio, she became simultaneously less acceptable to the other. The object of the INCAP work was to gain the cooperation of the entire village, not merely of one barrio. When the full significance of the barrio rivalry became clear to the anthropologist, he advised the social worker to cultivate residents of both barrios, thus weakening the feeling that the project was concerned with only one. She began to divide her time more evenly between the two barrios and became less and less identified with one. This had the favorable effect of lessening the resistance in the Lower Barrio (Adams 1955: 441-42).

A Peace Corps Volunteer working with cooperatives in the Department of Huehuetenango speaks from personal experience when he stresses the importance of not prejudging a local situation and making commitments or friends too quickly. Shortly after his arrival in the town he noticed that very few of the members of one cooperative seemed to be working toward strengthening the organization. Only the treasurer appeared to be dedicated and he received little cooperation from the other members. The Volunteer decided to give his full support to the treasurer, hoping thereby to convince the apathetic membership of the value of the cooperative. In fact, nothing changed and for a time he found the obvious lack of enthusiasm for and even resistance to his efforts bewildering and discouraging. Eventually he discovered the reason for the apparent apathy of the membership: he had been supporting an embezzler! The members of the cooperative had long been aware of the treasurer's dishonesty but were unable to act because his family held a position of power in the community. With the encouragement of the Volunteer, the members finally took the initiative and ousted him from the organization. It goes without saying that in reversing his position and supporting the membership against the treasurer, the Volunteer made an enemy of the latter and subsequently came under strong pressure from the man's family to leave the community. Fortunately the townspeople came to the Volunteer's support. Since then the membership of the cooperative has increased to four or five times its original size.

## MAKING FRIENDS

Friendship as understood in North America or Europe is practically unknown in Indian Guatemala, at least so far as the roles, privileges and obligations implicit in the Western type of friendship bond are concerned.

It follows that the foreign innovator cannot expect to "make friends," as he has always understood the term, in the Indian highlands of Guatemala. This does not mean that he won't be able to form close and warm ties with members of the community--quite the contrary. It does mean that such relationships do not carry the implications to which he has been accustomed.

Relationships of the kind we think of as friendships--incorporating mutual obligations, privileges, and expectations--do exist in Indian communities, but between kinsmen, not between neighbors or acquaintances. The prime reason seems to be that these communities have had a very precarious existence for centuries: each family unit has had to be self-sufficient, if just barely so. The business of day-to-day survival is serious and time-consuming. There are few, if any, opportunities in the ordinary life of an Indian for extensive personal interaction with non-kinsmen, and that includes fellow members of associations based on common interests. Nor do the religious associations of the Catholic Church, which have formed part of the traditional society since Colonial times, facilitate the type of intimate interaction between individuals required for Western-type "friendship." Here again, however, there are exceptions. A certain kind of friendship-like relationship can and has developed here and there within the cooperative movement. Also, Manning Nash (1958) reports that the introduction of the factory into Cantel has provided opportunities for the development of previously unknown types of non-kin relationships, including friendship bonds, among the employees.

The anthropologist Ruben Reina found his own anthropological field work impeded by the concept of friendship that prevails in Santa Cruz Chinautla, a Pokomam-speaking Indian community only twelve kilometers northeast of Guatemala City (Reina 1959b). The Indians of Chinautla practice a highly emotion-charged type of non-kin bond called camaradería, loosely translatable as comradeship. Two young Indians of the same sex decide to become camaradas, forming an intense bond of friendship which it is hoped will endure throughout life. Camaradas may also be established during middle life, but then the ties are not as emotionally charged. Both men and women form camaradas, but society affords more opportunities for men to demonstrate their relationship publicly. It is characteristic of this type of non-kin bond that the individuals concerned seek extremely close companionship, with intense and reciprocal affection, especially in the years after childhood and before marriage. One definite expectation is that a camarada will act only to please his or her friend. So demanding is the relationship that only one camarada can be kept at a time. This not infrequently turns a camarada into intense personal enmity, following a stormy period of jealousy and frustration. This is so significant that it is useful to quote Reina in some detail:

> Friendship for the Indian is a formal relationship, which he calls puesto, with a prescribed role and status, and it is always his firm intention to keep it. They are proud of this relationship and affectionate in it, but from a practical viewpoint have mixed feelings. A camarada is a potential enemy when the puesto is lost. A certain reserve on the part of the camaradas is therefore observed, especially in the realm of family secrets, plans, and amount earned at work. Friendship is maintained not for economic, political, or practical purposes, but only an emotional fulfillment.
>
> The principle of the camarada complex underlies all potential relations attempted by Indians. Heretofore unknown to me in an institutionalized form, the camarada complex at first prevented my field work from running

smoothly, and my relationship with informants was difficult. After several months in the field, I was obviously approached for friendship by several informants. They were talkative, paid frequent visits after work, and responded to my expectation of them as informants. A twenty-five-year-old unmarried Indian, whom I shall call Miguel, agreed to do some carpentry work. His progress with the work was rather impressive, but it soon became evident that his concentration and care were rapidly diminishing. He was given the wages he expected, but several times I noticed him carefully observing me as I engaged in friendly conversations with other potential informants. On one such occasion, when the visitor had left, Miguel took the opportunity to talk against the man and to caution me in confidential tones, saying that one had to be careful because this person was known to have frequent association with the brujo who had performed the ritual of the doll burial on several occasions. Death had resulted for persons represented by the doll. Because I did not heed Miguel's counsel, he became indifferent, did not come to work regularly, refused to give descriptive information (discarding the topic as of no importance), and finally did not return at all. I was later told that Miguel felt that he had tried to become a camarada and had been willing to recount the community life and its history.

He felt that he knew most of the facts or knew where he could secure them, and therefore could have been a valuable assistant. For these reasons he believed that I was making a mistake in looking for other friends.

The same behavior was manifested by female Indians. María, who helped in the domestic affairs of my household, felt a lack of reciprocity in friendship after several months of work, which caused her withdrawal. Her puesto with my wife did not fulfill her expectations and although her fondness for our infant son was intense, she preferred to withdraw when she felt that another girl was stepping into her friendship with the family. More money was offered in order to keep her services, but she preferred to leave, even though it brought her actual sorrow, and let the competitor step in when her pride had been hurt. The friction between the two girls was intense afterwards. They would avoid each other, or throw scornful glances when forced to pass on the street. María did not return to visit the family and for some time avoided public encounters.

Under these social conditions, the keeping of a permanent and reliable informant was not an easy matter. The procedure was painful for both the investigator and the informant. To keep a particularly good informant, it was necessary to give him a very careful explanation of the role of the investigator and his need

> for maintaining contact with everyone in the community. It took a long while for the informant to become accustomed to this type of relationship, and he would often point out with disturbed feelings that he had seen "so and so" come to the house and stay all afternoon, or that he had been told some undesirable member of the community dropped in seeking a camarada puesto. At times he felt elated and happy, but on other occasions he felt hurt and distant. It took constant effort to keep him stimulated to serve as informant and, most of all, to think of this relationship in these terms while many in the community were advising him to withdraw. After several months of insecurity, he found his own puesto, became secure, and turned out to be a desirable informant who brought many acquaintances and relatives for intensive interview (Reina 1959b:48-49).

Here we have another tradition-bound social situation that could make it impossible for an innovator to control or comprehend his relationships with the people he is trying to help. Unless he knows the patterns and expectations of this particular type of non-kin relationship, he will be first bewildered and then hurt by unexpected and inexplicable behavior changes from warm to cold. He cannot expect to be enlightened by the individuals involved, or for that matter by Ladinos.

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According to Reina, Ladinos ridicule the whole institution of the camaradería as something that only "uncivilized" Indians would practice:

> The gregarious orientation of the Ladino, his impatience, his Western European sex-role definition in free interaction across sex lines, and his utilitarian view in social relations run altogether against the Indian view and destroy any possibility of interaction at this level (Reina 1959b: 50).

It cannot be stressed too often that frank discussion and explanation of peculiarities of social behavior by participants in a culture are hard to come by. People tend to regard their ways as "natural" and universal. The Indians do, but so do we. North Americans no less than others ascribe any number of attitudes and actions to "human nature" when in fact they are determined by culture and not nature, human or otherwise. And culture is not innate but learned. As already noted, much of this learning is unconscious. It is shared by all or most members of the community, it is accepted as a given, it is rarely analyzed and requires no explication. And the stranger is left out in the cold.

Take this case, for example: A North American couple working in a small Indian village became perturbed by the peculiar behavior of people when they walked out of town together. People came along willingly enough, but they didn't seem to want to walk with them. Instead they would go ahead or lag behind, at least until they were well out of the village. This happened even with their closest neighbors, with whom they thought they had established warm rapport. On one occasion they were walking out of town with a neighbor when they met a group of men on the road. The neighbor, a woman, blushed and became extremely agitated and embarrassed. Another time a neighbor helped them carry some market purchases. As they entered the plaza, a group of men standing about greeted them with raucous laughter. Also, they would ask people frequently to visit them in the house they had rented, but there was little response. All these things bothered them more and more, until finally they began to realize that while they considered the villagers as "just people," the villagers by no means thought of them that way. Non-Indians are the ruling group. They have the money and the power. Visitors from other countries are associated with them. Perhaps because of past experiences, the villagers assumed that the couple's neighbors must be making large sums of money out of their association (in a subsistence economy, almost any amount of money would seem large). This sort of assumption leads to envy, and as we know, envy is dangerous because it can cause witchcraft. Hence the attempts to avoid public association and the woman's acute agitation at being "caught" in the company of the North Americans.

One might wonder why some of the villagers didn't explain the situation. Why didn't the members of the cooperative tell the Volunteer he was backing an embezzler? Why didn't someone tell the young anthropologists that their friend was a much-feared brujo instead of wordlessly turning away from them?

By the standards of our culture the typical Indian pattern of skirting unpleasant issues and avoiding them to one's face while strongly disapproving behind one's back seems devious and even dishonest. The point is not that one can find the same thing in our own society; what matters is only that such behavior is culturally disapproved. Within the Indian community, however, it is considered improper to confront another person directly with a mistake. Above all, the Indians value the preservation of community equilibrium and unity. In order to preserve this unity, there are specific, indeed institutionalized, channels through which personal or communal criticism must pass in order to reach the individual at whom it is directed. If it is considered bad form to criticize someone to his face among the Indians, it is absolutely unthinkable in Indian relations with Ladinos (and foreigners), because here there is the additional factor of social and economic inequality, paternalism and dependence. A Peace Corps Volunteer misusing the pila (community water trough) would never be corrected by a neighbor who saw her do it. Rather, complaints about soap in the water would circulate through the village and finally reach the mayor or some other person of power who would mention it to the Volunteer. That is the way it is done, and no Volunteer should feel personally hurt when it happens.

Related both to this indirect approach to criticism and to the Indian's social and economic inferiority to the Ladino is the routinized Indian response, "Sí, como no," ("yes, of course") to almost any request or suggestion. This is something the innovator has to understand or it may drive him up the wall with frustration. At first he will be delighted: everything seems to be going so well; everyone agrees with every suggestion he makes. He asks if they would like to help in this or that project and the immediate answer is "Sí, como no." Never did he expect such positive response so early in his work. Later, when the meeting still has not been called, when the man has still not come to pick up his new seed, when the women do not arrive for the cooking class or haven't brought the things which were to be used, he begins to feel a little frustrated. He may not yet reach the boiling point, but after a few more weeks of the eternal, "*Sí, como no*," and the same lack of follow-up, he could easily become exasperated, and worse, take it as personal failure. It is not. "*Sí, como no*" is the politely subservient response to any Ladino request, an accepted and expected pattern of behavior, the proper way for an "inferior" Indian to respond to his "betters." To know and understand this may not make it less frustrating to hear. On the contrary, Volunteers have long been unhappy at the implied deference which seems to associate them with the traditional unequal Ladino-Indian relationship, as indeed it does. Knowing something of the historical socio-economic context in which the pat response was formed, however, should warn the innovator not to take it too seriously. Aware that it is a routine and uniform response, he will make doubly certain that the people truly understand what he said--that the man who agreed so readily to become treasurer of the cooperative really does know how to add and subtract, that the fertilizer has indeed been applied as specified, etc. That is something else to remember constantly: Spanish is not only the foreign innovator's second language but the Indians' as well. In addition to its social function in Ladino-Indian relations, "_Sí, como no_" may serve to cover up incomplete understanding.

The very last thing the stranger should do is to invoke his conception of what is logical. Logic, too, is an artifact of culture, and there is nothing universal about it, any more than there is about hand-holding or the desirability of progress. The quicker he accepts this, the less perturbed he will be by the seemingly endless instances of "illogical" behavior all around him. For example, he knows that a group of _mayordomos_* went to his neighbor's house to appoint him to a _cargo_, a religious office. This is an honor. One hopes someday to arrive at the position of _principal_ by means of successive _cargos_. His neighbor and his wife knew the purpose of the visit beforehand. Yet they became involved in a long argument with the _mayordomos_, and even loudly and aggressively insulted them. What logic is there in that? On another day, his landlady's cousin had a baby boy. While the cousin was expecting the landlady expressed great anxiety because it was her first child. But when the baby was born, the landlady did not go to her cousin's home. She didn't even ask if the child had been born until a week later (although she knew it had). Three weeks passed before she inquired whether it was a boy or a girl. What kind of behavior is that?

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*A religious rank in the civil-religious hierarchy. A _mayordomo_ is in charge of sponsoring a fiesta and caring for a particular saint.

How is the outsider to know that one must never accept the honor of an appointment to a cargo without a show of displeasure and aggression? To fail to do so would constitute a serious breach of social etiquette, a violation of a pattern of proper conduct as ancient as the memory of the elders (Reina 1959a:26). Where he comes from, everyone makes a big fuss about a new baby, and most certainly a close relative who seemed so worried for the expectant mother's safety would follow through when the baby was born and show some interest in its health and sex. How could he know that in this strange new cultural environment, one should never ask after a baby until it is a few weeks old, because bad thoughts, such as envy of a male child, might bring it harm. New babies are very susceptible to negative supernatural (and natural) forces. Never, never should one look directly at babies and admire them. Mothers must keep their infants well-covered to avoid the glances of others, who might possess the "evil eye," a common belief in Hispanic America. But it is not universal, especially among Indians. It is entirely possible that, having just absorbed one community's taboo against looking at a baby and admiring it, the development worker will find the opposite to hold true in the very next village, where he might well be expected to admire all children extravagantly. Thus it is best not to make assumptions but rather to observe general behavior and as much as possible use it as a guide.

Above all, one needs to remind oneself constantly that one is in a new and different world, where few of the cultural norms and values by which one has lived and thought all one's life have meaning. (This holds true whether one is North American or middle class Guatemalan.) But, it is essential also to remember that this world is new only to oneself; that it represents only the latest configuration in a cultural process that began many thousands of years ago.

Unfortunately, North Americans, especially, tend to be ahistorical in their approach to problems that can be solved only by historical understanding. The condition of the contemporary Maya is precisely the kind of problem that cannot be understood outside its historical context. It is to provide the essential historical framework that this book leads off with a brief but comprehensive social history of the Guatemalan Indian. Then come discussions of sectors of contemporary highland culture on which outside efforts at modernization are currently focused.

The stranger can enhance his experience in the field if he recognizes that the contemporary cultural fabric contains threads and patterns that are centuries old and if he uses that knowledge to place the numerous puzzling and frustrating facts of highland life in their social and historical context. He can also improve his chances of making a positive impact on the lives of those who have accepted him into their midst.

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# CHAPTER 1

## A Social History of the Guatemalan Indian

Robert M. Carmack

History as we know it for the Maya area begins very late. Until the Maya hieroglyphs are finally translated, our knowledge of the most spectacular period of Maya civilization, the Classic (ca. 1 A.D. to 900 A.D.), must depend on archaeological evidence.

Reconstructions from archaeological remains give little indication of the nature of Maya social organization; for that reason, most of the discussion in this chapter concerns the social history of the Indians of Guatemala after the decline of the Classic Maya civilizations. Most of our records for the Post-Classic period (after 900 A.D.) date from shortly after the conquest, when Catholic missionaries taught a few Maya nobles to write their language in Latin characters. The records produced at that time describe events that extend scarcely three to four centuries back into the pre-conquest period, so they fail to give us information about the Classic civilizations. Nonetheless,

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the archaeological remains indicate that the developments leading to the great Maya civilizations began in the Gulf Coast area of Mexico, as early at 1,000 B.C., and later gradually spread to highland Guatemala and finally into the lowlands. It was in the lowlands of Petén and Yucatán that the most spectacular manifestations of Classic Maya art and architecture occurred. At Tikal, Uaxactún, and Chichen Itzá, between 300 and 900 A.D., the Maya constructed great temple cities: ceremonial centers with mammoth temples and palaces, monumental stone sculptures, and giant causeways. They developed the arts of multicolored ceramics, polished jade ornaments, feathered mosaics, and stone sculpture to heights of sophisticated design that still stand as some of the world's greatest artistic achievements.

Maya achievements in the abstract intellectual fields of writing, astronomy, mathematics, and calendrics were equally notable. They had a highly-developed calendar system, associated with complex mathematical, astrological, and mythical ideas, and, from the hieroglyphs they carved on stone, we have learned that they developed what can be considered a true system of writing. The Maya characters were not merely pictographs or mnemonic devices. Recent studies indicate that, at the time of the collapse of Maya civilization, the hieroglyphic writing was in the process of becoming a phonetic system: its characters were beginning to represent sounds rather than objects or ideas.

During the period when the lowland Maya cities flourished, a more diversified and less spectacular Maya civilization existed in the Guatemalan highlands, at sites like Kaminaljuyú (near Guatemala City), Zaculeu (Huehuetenango), and Zacualpa (Baja Verapaz). The highland Maya civilization seems to have been a hybrid culture, brought about by strong influences from central Mexico (especially from Teotihuacán) and from the lowland Maya. The highland temples were smaller and often made of adobe rather than stone. Monuments were scarce and without hieroglyphs. The arts were less elegant and lacked the consistency of design that was characteristic of lowland Maya art. Ideas about religion and astrology presumably were also less developed than in the lowlands.

We know very little about the quite sudden collapse of Maya civilization about

900 A.D. For reasons yet unexplained, the great lowland sites were abandoned at that time, along with Kaminaljuyú in the highlands. The best hypothesis at the present time is that military influence from Mexico disrupted the delicate balance that had existed and caused wholesale disorganization of Maya society.

The collapse of the great lowland Maya centers and the decline of the civilization centered at Kaminaljuyú was followed by strong influence from the central parts of Mexico. The powerful Toltecs from Tula, north of Mexico City (now the state of Hidalgo) made their presence felt in highland Guatemala through conquest, trading expeditions, and actual migrations of Nahua-speakers (Nahua was the language of most Indians from central Mexico, including the Aztecs).

This period of Mexican influence in the Maya area (ca. A.D. 800 - A.D. 1500), was a dynamic period. Although the beauty and elegance of the Classic Maya was gone, tremendous energy was still being channeled, this time into social engineering. Society underwent a reorganization as classes became more sharply divided and more complex;

agricultural and other kinds of production were intensified, not in quality but in quantity, and production became more subject to political control through tribute and tax collection. It was a period of endemic wars, and ritual was geared to that trend. The sacrifice of human captives in war dominated religious life at the social centers. Rural populations were more integrated into the social and political life of the rulers, although their participation was at first as subordinates. But as they gained in confidence and experience, these peasant warriors literally shook the foundations of society, and were on the move upward in society at the time the Spaniards arrived in Guatemala.

Thus, although it is common to compare the Maya societies of the conquest period unfavorably with the flowery civilization of the Classic Maya, that viewpoint overlooks the fact that social engineering, even though it does not leave a spectacular trace in the archaeological record, nevertheless is a significant cultural development. The social situation in Guatemala at the time of the conquest was one of seething conflict and change, warfare and sacrifice, political domination and social mobility. Energies had been transferred from elegant art and monumental architecture to conquest, population control, and technological achievement.

When the Spaniards reached the highlands of Guatemala in 1524, they found a confusing melee of warring political states, struggling over strategic resources, territorial integrity, and the remaining hapless peasant groups still living outside the control of political states. The largest state was the Quiché, a conquest empire that included all the Quiché speakers of the highlands and significant numbers of the surrounding Uspantec, Ixil, Aguacatec, Mam, Pokoman, Tzutujil, and Cakchiquel populations. Their political center was at Utatlán, also called K'umarcaj, ("the ancient reed [huts]"), the ruins of which may still be seen near Santa Cruz del Quiché. The Spanish conquistador Alvarado (1524) said that it was "well constructed and marvelously strong, and has very large agricultural lands, and many people subject to it."

The Cakchiquel state was approximately equivalent to the Quiché in size and power, although its jurisdiction was more limited, extending over most Cakchiquel-speakers, some of the Nahua-speaking Pipil from the coastal area, and many of the Pokoman in the area of the present-day departments of Sacatepéquez and Guatemala. Its political stronghold, Iximché ("maize tree"), was no less impressive than that of Utatlán. The Spaniards chose Iximché as the first capital of Guatemala, which explains how the name Guatemala was first given to the territory: the Cakchiquel center was called Cuauhtemala by the Aztecs who came with the Spaniards to Guatemala, and as the name of the first Spanish capital it eventually became the official name of the republic.

The Tzutujil not under Quiché domination also maintained a small but powerful and independent state. From their stronghold at Atitlán (the remains of which are now called Chuitinamit, located just north of modern Santiago Atitlán), they controlled most of the peoples along the coast below Lake Atitlán, to the west as far as Suchitepéquez.

There were other centers of power in the highlands, although none of them had the political strength or social complexity of the Quiché, Cakchiquel, and Tzutujil. Worthy of mention are the important Pipil center of Izcuintepec (Escuintla), a Pipil-Pokoman group centered at Acasaguastlán, and a Mam contingent at Huehuetenango that occupied part of the ancient site of Zaculeu. Close by, too, were the Aztecs, who had established a province at Soconusco (southern Chiapas, bordering on Guatemala). The Quiché and Cakchiquel had established ties with the Aztecs; there is evidence that the Quiché ruler had received two wives from Montezuma, possibly hoping thereby to prevent an Aztec takeover of Quiché territory.

In view of the continuity of pre-Hispanic aboriginal ideas, activities, and groups in modern Guatemalan Indian communities, it is important to know something about the way of life (or culture) of those pre-Hispanic peoples. This is not the place, of course, to study their culture in depth, but some of the basic features can be briefly outlined.

In the area of social organization, there existed a basic distinction between people compacted into the fortified centers and others who lived scattered in the countryside. As the Popol Vuh, the sacred book of the Quiché, expresses it, "they distributed themselves.....in the several amak' and in tecpan" (Goetz and Morley 1950). The tecpan was the palace, the elaborate residences alongside the temples and defensive walls of fortified centers that the Spaniards found so formidable. The amak' were hamlets, spread over the countryside "like the legs of a spider" (amak' is a Quiché word meaning spider, apparently used to refer to those scattered settlements).

Only persons of noble birth, those descended from the original rulers, lived in the palaces of the fortified centers. Each palace housed a whole lineage, so that both the lineage and the palace were called the "Big House." Members of the Big Houses held all the important offices in the state government, and they were freed from labor in the fields. Las Casas, the famous Dominican missionary, said they were like "nobles of famous mansions...similar to what is called the house of Guzmán or Mendoza in our Castilla." These noblemen were referred to by the special term, ajaw ("he of the collar"), and they had such privileges as wearing cotton clothing (others used coarse-fibered cloth made from the maguey plant), playing a ceremonial ball game*, trading at long distances, eating certain kinds of meat prohibited to commoners, and so forth (Las Casas 1958).

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*The game, common to all Mesoamerican Indians, was played on a special I-shaped court, examples of which can still be seen at many archaeological sites. It is thought that the game was a highly ceremonial, even sacred

Those living in the hamlets (amak') were peasant commoners. They, too, were organized into patriarchal lineages, each lineage probably corresponding to a hamlet. In referring to these groups, Las Casas states that

> they did not consider children born in a foreign...lineage to be their kinsmen or members of their families, even though the woman (i.e., the mother) was of their.... lineage. The reason was that kinship relationship was attributed only to men...These women, after they were paid for with presents or gifts that were sent to their parents, did not return to their relatives, but when the husband died his brother or some single relative married her (Las Casas 1958).

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affair, but little is understood about its significance. Its object, apparently, was to hit a hard rubber ball through a millstone-like ring; there were two rings, opposite each other in the middle of the walls in the center of the court. The players were forbidden to use their hands; instead, they hit the ball with their hips, wearing protective pads on their hips, knees, and elbows. Little is known about the scoring of the game, but it appears that, despite its ceremonial nature, both players and spectators placed enormous bets.

Thus, marriage was largely a matter between lineages, and most other activities took place within the confines of those large kinship groups.

The peasant lineages were affiliated with the Big House of the native aristocracy, but in a condition of servitude. They provided labor for the construction of the palaces and other buildings of the fortified centers, and they supported the nobility with tributes of craft goods, maize, beans, cloth, etc. It is likely, too, that they provided work details for the many needs of the state, probably serving on a rotating basis and according to age (the older experienced men would perform the more important tasks, by lineage, according to turn). Fighting in war was one of their most important duties.

There were slaves, too, in relatively small numbers, living in the homes and on the lands of the noble ruling class. The slaves were economically much less important than the peasants, and, as with slavery in other parts of the ancient world, it was a benign form compared to modern instances of slavery. It was often a temporary condition, entered into because of debts or other hardships; often slaves could even marry members of the noble family.

Economic activity among these pre-Hispanic Maya Indians was closely geared to the geography of the highlands. Most of the population was concentrated in a series of basins, valleys, and plateaus formed by two volcanic-mountain chains oriented from a northwest to southwest direction. The most important of these and their approximate elevation in feet are as follows: Jacaltenango (4,600), Huehuetenango (6,100), Quiché (6,500), Quezaltenango (7,700), Atitlán (5,000), Tecpan Guatemala (7,000), Guatemala (5,000), Chiquimula (1,500).

Temperature and rainfall have long been quite variable in these basins, but they average thirty to seventy degrees temperature and twenty-five to eighty inches rainfall per year. The soils there were generally rich and deep (from volcanic substances), and the region contained most of the important mineral resources: obsidian, jade, gold and silver. Game animals were probably somewhat scarce, although the deer and rabbit may have been much more plentiful than at the present time. Many of the tropical forms of life, such as brightly feathered birds, monkeys, sloths, and iguanas, were absent from the highlands.

The sacred Quetzal birds were confined to the dense northern forests of the Verapaz area.

The basic food staple in the native diet was maize (corn), which, in the form of tortillas, gruel, and tamales, supplied most of the carbohydrates and protein requirements for both peasants and aristocrats. Minerals and vitamins were supplied by chile, beans, squash, and leafy vegetables. These crops were raised by milpa agriculture, performed by the peasant families (fathers were aided by their married sons) on land belonging to the entire lineage.

In highland Guatemala, milpa agriculture was almost exclusively dry farming, based on the summer rains rather than on irrigation. Terraces and furrows were built to retain some rain water, and stalks and leaves from the past year's crops were left as a kind of natural fertilizer. Otherwise, planting was simply a matter of poking holes in the ground with a simple digging stick, and thereafter keeping the weeds down until a single crop was harvested around December. The fertile soils of the valleys allowed the Indians to plant year after year in the same plots, with little problem of soil depletion. In the higher zones and on the slopes, land had to be rested (left fallow) after a few years of planting, to be used later after the soil had regained its fertility. Apparently there was no serious shortage of land at the time the Spaniards came.

Compared to other Maya regions, such as Yucatán, native population was dense in the Guatemalan highlands. There were possibly one million people living in that area, at a density of somewhere between fifty and one hundred per square kilometer (twenty to forty per square mile). As already noted, the peasants--the great bulk of the population--were scattered over the countryside in small hamlets, whereas members of the ruling class were concentrated into small towns and cities. These Guatemalan cities were dwarfed by the large urban centers that the Spaniards found in central Mexico: it has been estimated that Mexico City may have had more than 300,000 persons. Nevertheless, it is clear that the concept of the nucleated city, where politics, marketing, and religious ritual took place, was known to the Indians of Guatemala before the arrival of the Spaniards. The largest cities, such as Quezaltenango, Utatlán (Santa Cruz del Quiché), Atitlán, and Iximché (Tecpan Guatemala), apparently had populations of between ten and twenty thousand persons. Nor were they without some comforts, for the Spaniards who stayed at Iximché for a week remarked that they were well received, and, in the words of Alvarado (1524), "could not have been more at home than in the houses of their fathers, and we were so provided with everything necessary that nothing at all was lacking."

Both peasants and noblemen participated in a varied social life. It is not possible to describe briefly all of those activities: buying and selling at markets near the fortified centers; settling disputes between lineages at the Big Houses or between families of the same lineage at the hamlets; making war; entering into marriage; educating the young; performing rituals to the ancestors in the hamlets or to the gods of nature in the temples; and so forth. Some of the flavor of that rich social life may be experienced by reading the Popul Vuh: The Sacred Book of the Ancient Quiché Maya (Goetz and Morley 1950) and the Annals of the Cakchiquels, written by the Cakchiquel at Sololá (Recinos and Goetz 1953). Both works were written by native princes during the sixteenth century.

There was one system of ideas so central to their whole culture that it must be discussed: the calendar. The Guatemalan Indians, like the Maya elsewhere, deified time and fatalistically believed that most occurrences resulted from the influence of the gods responsible for any given time period. Every single day was personified as at least two different gods, and the same was true of the solar years, the Venus cycle, and other periods of time. For both peasantry and nobility, all important activities had to be geared to the fates associated with those gods, whether good, bad, or neutral. There were good days for marrying, making war, sacrificing prisoners, performing certain dances and rituals, selling at the market, overcoming sterility, witching enemies, and so forth. In a more general way, a person's life was bound up with the fate of the day on which he was born, and the name of that day often was taken as a name to be used along with the lineage title.

The archaic calendar, basic to all the other calendars in Guatemala and the one that gave names to all the days, was the sacred 260-day cycle (called chol k'ij, "count of the days"). It consisted of thirteen numbers, which were endlessly combined with twenty names, giving each of 260 days (thirteen times twenty) a number and a name. The numbers in Quiché were *jun* (1), *caib* (2), *oxib* (3), *cajib* (4), *ob* (5), *wakib* (6), *wukub* (7), *wajxakib* (8), *belejeb* (9), *lajuj* (10), *julajuj* (11), *cablajuj* (12), *oxlajuj* (13). The twenty names and their meanings were as follows: *Imox* (earth), *Ik'* (wind), *Ak'bal* (night), *Kat* (lizard), *Can* (snake), *Camey* (death), *Cuiej* (deer), *Kanel* (rabbit), *Toj* (water), *Tzi'* (dog), *Batz'* (monkey), *Ey* (tooth), *Aj* (cane), *Balam* or *I'x* (jaguar), *Tziquin* (bird), *Ajmac* (owl, insects), *Noj* (earthquake), *Tijax* (flint knife), *Caok* (rain), *Junajpu* (lord).

Thus, one of the days of the ancient Guatemalans was called *oxlajuj Aj* (13 cane), and the next day was *jun Balam* (1 jaguar). All peasants and noblemen must have known the name of any given day and been aware of some of its portents. That the Quiché ruler at the time of the conquest was *oxib Quej* (3 deer), must have vaguely connected something about the kind of power and success he would have. They would also have been aware of the day on which the solar year had begun, for these "year bearers," as they were called, influenced agriculture and political life. The successive year bearers throughout most of the highlands were the gods Ik', Quiej, Ey, and Noj, though in the area northeast of Huehuetenango they were Ak'bal, Kanil, Aj, and Tijax.

So the Maya were continually aware of the rising and setting of the sun and the appearance and disappearance of the moon and stars, for they signaled the changing reigns of the gods who influenced all phases of Maya life. Time did not elapse, but rather repeated itself endlessly. By knowing the cycles and the propensities of the gods who presided over them, the Maya could adjust their activities to the influences of the gods and, through offerings, maintain harmony with the all-powerful supernatural.

The social and political conditions of the Quiché Indians in the area of what is today the municipality of Santiago Momostenango offer a more concrete illustration of social organization in the highlands before the coming of the Spaniards. It is probable that social conditions there on the eve of the conquest were very similar to those of most areas in the highlands.

Because the land is broken into deep canyons and protruding mountains and the soil is not deeply fertile, the population is widely scattered. Most of the fifty to one hundred lineages living there occupied separate canyons, hilltops, or small valleys, for the most part growing crops, worshiping the ancestors, and struggling for survival in relative isolation. The fortified center called Chuwa Tz'ak ("above the walls") was on a ridge overlooking a small valley in which hot mineral springs were located. The fortified center was small, and there is no evidence that it had become urbanized. The territory politically tied to the center appear to have been considerably larger than the present boundaries of Momostenango and was called Palotz Utzaquibala ("place of the acid plant and water falls").

The ruler of this territory was named Izquin (a Nahua name), a highly ranked lord from one of the most prestigious Big Houses of Utatlán, known as the Nijaib. Many years before the conquest, warriors from that lineage had taken the territory from the Mam, who had controlled it, and it became a part of the Nijaib patrimony. Izquin himself had been a great conqueror, extending the boundaries of the territory some twenty years before the conquest. Apparently, Izquin did not live at the fortified center located there;

rather, he maintained his residence in Quezaltenango. Nevertheless, a palace had been constructed for him at the fortified center, and when he visited it he was treated like a king: he was placed in a high seat surrounded with feathers and given a silver crown and staffs of jaguar and mountain lion bones. He would also visit the sacred mountains of the territory, such as Tena, where there was an altar upon which "food" (*copal* incense, flowers, animal blood) could be given to the earth god of life and fertility.

Compared to other provinces of the Quiché state, tribute payments from Palotz must have been small, for it is an area poor in resources. Nevertheless, the people of Palotz brought Izquin fish from the rivers, maize and beans (which grow well there), *copal* resins, and even luxury items probably obtained through trade. Perhaps their most valuable resource, however, was the human one. The local population was large, and the men were fierce fighters. In all probability, people from this province made up an important part of the army that Izquin led in 1524 against the Spaniards in the valley of Quezaltenango.

It is not known whether the Quiché had assigned a contingent of military officials

(Achij, "warriors") to the fortified center of Chuwa Tz'ak. At other places, their task was to control the local peasant population and guard against encroachment by enemies of the Quiché (such as the Mam). Probably there was a small group garrisoned there, although specific information on that point is lacking.

The leaders in the rural areas were the heads of lineages (Utzam Chinamital, "head of the clan") and the elders (mamaib). As the most experienced men, they had the right to settle all affairs within the lineages, acting always in consultation with the calendric fates and by consensus. They also took commands from higher officials at the fortified center, thus acting on behalf of the lineages in matters of tribute, domestic and public work tasks, ritual, and military service. By serving as intermediaries with the state, they shielded most members of society from extensive contact with outsiders.

So it was that daily life, from birth to death, took place largely within the limited confines of individual lineages, isolated in tiny canyons or valleys of highland Guatemala. It is sobering to contemplate that when the Spaniards arrived, the basic patterns of life characteristic of these tenacious peasants had existed in basically the same form for some three thousand years.

## THE INDIANS UNDER SPANISH RULE

### The Conquest

The conquest of Guatemala began in 1523, when Cortés sent one of his bravest captains, the blond Pedro de Alvarado, to conquer the Maya peoples living just beyond the boundaries of the Aztec empire. Alvarado reached Guatemala in 1524 with approximately 300 Spanish soldiers, 135 on horseback, and a contingent of Aztec warriors who served as shock troops.

The first major military encounter took place in the valley of Quezaltenango, where the conquistadores fought the Quiché armies, which were led by their great general, Tecum Umam. The Spaniards successively defeated native armies of five thousand, three thousand, and ten-to-thirty thousand warriors each, largely because in that great level area the Spaniards were able to trample the Quiché with their horses. It was the critical battle in the conquest of Guatemala, not only because of the military defeat suffered by the Quiché armies but also because Tecum Umam was slain. The natives were deeply affected by his death, and later wrote of it in an Indian título:

> And then captain Tecum began flying, as he had come as an eagle, full of feathers...and he came intending to kill Tunatiu (Alvarado) who was on a horse, and he (Tecum) struck at the horse, trying to get Alvarado, cutting off the head of the horse with a lance...and when he saw that Alvarado had not died but only the horse, he turned to fly up, in order to kill Alvarado from there. But Alvarado defended himself with his lance, and drove it through this captain Tecum (Recinos 1957).

Not long after the fall of Xelajuj (Quezaltenango), the Spaniards marched to the Quiché capital of Utatlán. The city was well fortified, but the Quiché power had already been broken, and the Spaniards easily took control of Utatlán. Alvarado burned alive two of the highest rulers of the Quiché state, and part of the city, an act he claimed to be "for the good and benefit of this country."

Next, the Spaniards marched to the Cakchiquel capital of Iximché, where they were received with awe and respect. Then they went to the stronghold of the Tzutujil at Atitlán. The Tzutujil resisted but were quickly subdued when Alvarado threatened to ruin all of their cacao orchards if they did not submit peacefully.

Outside the central highlands (where the Indians were less tightly organized) the

Spaniards met military resistance for many years. One of the most difficult of the groups to subdue was the Mam, from the area of Huehuetenango. Under their leader, Caibal Balam, they entrenched themselves in the ancient fortified center of Zaculeu, where for four months, they resisted 120 Spanish soldiers and 2,000 Aztec and Quiché warriors. When it was over, some eighteen hundred Mam Indians had died, most of them from starvation, and the living were eating the corpses of the dead.

Even after conquest, the Spaniards had their hands full with revolt, a consequence of the heavy tax and labor burdens the Spaniards placed upon the native population. The Cakchiquel, for example, revolted when Alvarado demanded 1,500 pesos of gold from them, to be delivered in five days on pain of execution of their rulers. By 1526, most of the highlands were aflame with rebellion, and the Spaniards were nearly overcome. Some of the Indians, including the Tzutujils and Quezaltecos, remained loyal, however, and the Spaniards were able to quell the uprising. By 1527, the leaders of the rebels had been captured, and the Spaniards began to collect tribute in the highlands on a broad scale by 1530. The military phase of the conquest of Guatemala had ended.

In order to reward the conquistadores for their service to the Crown and to control the newly conquered Indian population, the conquistadores were given rights to the labor and tribute of the Indians. These *encomiendas*, as the grants were called, consisted of several Indian towns, a single town, or only a few Indian families, depending upon the reward that the particular conquistador was thought to deserve. Later, *encomienda* grants were given for many other kinds of service to the Crown. In exchange for their labor and tribute, the Indians were to be protected against enemies (it is not clear who the enemies might have been) and to receive the light of the gospel message.

As might be expected, Alvarado had the largest *encomienda* in Guatemala. We are told that "the towns of his *encomienda* were many, and in the best and most fertile lands of all the governance of Guatemala." From just one town of his *encomienda*, Sololá, four hundred men and four hundred women were regularly required to pan for gold, and another eight hundred were regularly recruited for working on the construction of the new Spanish capital city. He also had many slaves, one group working on agricultural lands outside the capital and another impressed into the gold mines, which the Spaniards began to exploit. Shortly after the death of Alvarado in 1541, slavery was prohibited in the Spanish colonies, but the encomiendas were continued in somewhat modified form.

The encomiendas flourished wherever the Indian populations were dense, as they were in the central highlands. This system allowed the conquistadores and their families to fulfill their dreams of living like aristocrats. Nevertheless, they were not satisfied, and there were gross abuses. The Indians were tortured, enslaved, over-tributed, over-worked, and forced to buy goods for which they had no need or desire. As one historian put it, the encomienda was "a device for transferring Indian wealth to Spanish hands, in a procedure that was more orderly than outright looting of spoils" (Gibson 1966).

To curb the excesses and the growing power of the conquistadores and to bring the Indians under permanent control in the less densely populated areas, the Crown sent missionaries into Guatemala. The earliest friars were Dominicans, Franciscans, and Mercedarians. From areas under Spanish control, they would leave for the hinterlands, barefoot and unarmed, assisted by native converts, and with some knowledge of the local Maya languages. They would work first with rulers from the noble class, who were often impressed by the contrast between the defenseless missionaries and the ruthless conquistadores. Conversion of the rulers was usually followed by the destruction of the local idols and temples, and then by mass baptism of the peasant populace. Every attempt was made to congregate the population into more compact communities and to replace the "pagan" shrines with Christian chapels. Then the process of teaching Christian doctrine to the natives was begun, as the Mass and other ceremonies of the church were initiated. Those who did not accept conversion or who failed to faithfully participate in the ceremonies were punished, usually by flogging. Finally, with the newly acquired native converts to aid them, the missionaries would once again strike out for new fields of labor.

Probably the most famous case of missionary labor in all the Americas took place in Guatemala under the direction of Bartolomé de Las Casas. Las Casas had claimed that the conquest was immoral and that the Indians could be brought under control by missionary work, without the use of force. In 1540, Las Casas and the Dominicans were granted permission by the Crown to "pacify" the Indians of the Verapaz region, who were still unconquered. The friars, given a guarantee that the conquistadores would stay out of Verapaz for a stipulated number of years, carried their message to the Indians in their usual manner. In a few short months they were successful in gaining virtually complete control over the Indians, something the conquistadores had not been able to do in several years of using force. Las Casas was justifiably acclaimed for the success of his "experiment," and to this day there are many who admire him. Nevertheless, before the end of the century serious rebellions had broken out again in Verapaz.

From the beginning of the colonies of the New World, the Spanish Crown attempted to gain absolute control over both the Indian population and the resident Spaniards and their descendants (later known as Creoles). Their policy was to organize the Spaniards and Indians into separate but similar towns, which could then be effectively controlled by the elaborate Spanish bureaucracy. In fact, the Crown showed as much zeal in organizing and controlling colonial society as the missionaries

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had shown in converting the Indians or the conquistadores in conquering them.

The first Spanish town in Guatemala was Santiago de los Caballeros, established shortly after the conquest in a fertile little valley between two giant volcanoes named Agua ("water") and Fuego ("fire"). The site was dedicated with a mass on Saint Santiago's day. A central plaza was marked off, surrounded by plots of land assigned to the Spanish citizens (vecinos) in caballerías (about thirty acres) and half-caballerías. Along one side of the central plaza was constructed a building for the town council (cabildo), which consisted of elected officials called alcaldes (mayor-judges) and regidores (aldermen). Along another side of the plaza was the church, dedicated to Saint Santiago, and later the residence of the bishop. Also located at the center were a jail, a hospital, a fort, and a building for the president of the colony.

In 1541 the original town was destroyed by water flowing from an eruption of Volcán de Agua. The few remains of it are now known as Ciudad Vieja ("Old City"). The new Santiago de Guatemala (Antigua) was built three to five miles to the north, away from the volcanoes. It had the same central plan as the old city.

Gradually a large number of luxurious homes were built in the streets surrounding the central square. Beyond the central section were the homes of the poorer artisans and craftsmen, usually arranged so that each street was occupied by workers in one craft. Outside the city proper were the wards and villages of Indians who were to serve the Spaniards.

The Mexicans who helped the Spaniards in the conquest remained near the ruins of the original town, and Indians resettled from Utatlán were placed in a ward known as Jocotenango. In all, there were some fifty to sixty Indian villages surrounding the city, all under the jurisdiction of one of the alcaldes of the city council. The Indians' agricultural crops provided subsistence for the inhabitants of the city; their crafts and services provided the basis for the aristocratic way of life to which the Spaniards had become accustomed.

Santiago de Guatemala (Antigua) became the third most important city in the American colonies (after Mexico and Lima), and was well-known for its beautiful cathedrals, especially the Dominican, Franciscan, Augustinian, Mercedarian, Jesuit, and the La Concepción nunnery. In the convents associated with these sumptuous structures, the highest level of education in the arts and theology was carried out. In the first years of the conquest, members of the Indian nobility were brought to these places to learn about Christianity and to learn to write in their own languages. They transcribed their histories, and a number of highly interesting documents resulted from their labors. This effort did not last long, however, and education for the Indians was reduced to more local and generalized teaching of arts, crafts, and simple reading and writing. Higher learning was confined to upper-class Spaniards, who eventually established one of America's first printing presses (1660) and first universities (San Carlos), which was elevated to university status in 1676.

The scores of Indian villages organized under the direction of the Crown were not so elaborate, although an ideal village was always the goal of the Spaniards. The encomenderos and friars congregated scattered native populations at favorable locations: in flat areas (away from elevated defensive structures), where water was sufficient, with enough land for both grazing and agriculture, and, if possible, close to mines or plantations so that the labor of the Indians could be readily exploited. As in the Spanish towns, a small central plaza was laid out, with a town council house and a church (dedicated to a patron saint) placed at opposite ends. Lands were allotted mostly on a customary basis, but also according to ethnic groupings (parcialidades, prior independent settlements), which were joined together in the new town. A communal plot of land (ejido) also was set aside for grazing and obtaining firewood. Once the town was established, the inhabitants were prohibited from living in other towns, and Spaniards were to stay out (their ranches were supposed to be no closer than one to three miles from any Indian village).

In this way the Spaniards succeeded in gaining control over the labor and tribute of the Indians. They did not fundamentally reorganize native society, however. Although new administrative boundaries came into existence, congregating the Indians into towns was not very successful. Except in those cases in which the Indians had already developed an urban pattern to some extent (as at Quezaltenango and around Lake Atitlán), Indian settlements remained generally scattered. The clans and lineages continued to live together in hamlets outside the town center, practicing traditional forms of milpa farming and regional marketing. European crops and crafts were also incorporated into their economy.

The Spaniards worked through the local aristocracy, called caciques, so that despite some shifts of power the pre-Hispanic ruling class continued to exercise primary influence within the villages. In practice, the village alcaldes and regidores were not elected officials; rather, those offices became rotating services (cargos) to which men were appointed by the elders of the clans and lineages, much as was done before the conquest.

The most serious threat to the native way of life came from the church. In many villages there were resident priests, and they had jurisdiction over many local matters: not just attendance at mass, but also matters relating to politics, morality, economics, and so forth. Although the Indians were baptized Christians, they succeeded in transforming ritual and belief until it came closer to their pre-Hispanic religion than to the Catholicism taught by the priests. In almost every village the Catholic saints were equated with "pagan" gods of rain and fertility. Worship of the saints became linked with the native calendar (the priests were surprised to find that on "good" days of the 260-day calendar the chapel would be filled) and with burning of copal incense, dance, drama, and so forth. The villagers' ethical view, too, remained Maya: one's first duties were to make milpa and propitiate the nature gods who ran the universe and granted the material necessities of life, because gods who did not receive the proper offerings would send sickness, drought, or other misfortunes to punish the negligent individual or community. Even the organization of ritual was transformed as the Catholic religious brotherhoods (cofradías) were gradually taken over by the same clans and lineages that had conducted ritual at pagan temples in pre-Hispanic times.

Through this process of syncretism, as it is usually called, the Indians were able to channel and diminish Spanish influence over their way of life. Caciques and council officials at the tiny town centers dealt with outsiders on behalf of the entire community, giving the appearance of achievement of the Spanish ideal. Internally, however, the Maya way of life went on much as it had for generations before. Even where Spanish officials were aware of pagan ways, they made no attempt to destroy the social world of these closed Indian communities and, in fact, tended to protect them from other elements in colonial society. As long as the Indians continued to provide tribute and labor and did not openly rebel against Spanish authority, they were left alone by the Crown and its officials, including the priests.

There were two primary social forces at work during the colonial period, however, that did tend to break down the Indian communities. They were the constantly-expanding haciendas (ranches) and the mestizos (racially-mixed persons; also called Ladinos, partly because they could speak Spanish). The influence of these two forces on the Indians of Guatemala has been considerable and must be clarified.

The rise of the great haciendas of Guatemala is related to the drastic decline in Indian population during the century following the conquest. The Indians were relentlessly attacked by contagious diseases that the Spaniards brought with them from Europe. The Indians lacked immunity against such diseases as smallpox, typhoid fever, measles, malaria, and others. In plague after plague, they died terrifying deaths. It has been estimated that 70 percent of the population was wiped out by European diseases between 1524 and 1650. In the crowded highlands, the native population dropped from approximately one million to two hundred thousand. Of course, this reduced the pressure for land, and large tracts of property within the Indian villages fell into disuse.

The decline in native population spelled the demise of the encomienda system as an effective means of exploiting native resources (although it continued on a limited scale) and opened the way for the acquisition of land by Creole ranchers. They replaced the Indians with livestock, usurping more and more of the Indians' lands, partly by "legal" means but largely through various forms of deception or outright seizure. Hacienda lands were mostly used for raising livestock, although agriculture--especially wheat-growing--was also practiced. In the lowland regions, sugar cane, indigo (a plant from which dye was extracted), and cotton were grown on hacienda-like plantations.

The haciendas were more feudalistic than capitalistic, and much of their surplus went into trappings for maintaining the aristocratic standing of the owners: elegant ranch houses, beautiful, richly-adorned horses, fine clothing, and the like. Much of the cash and land, too, was used to attract Indian labor and to bind the Indians in a relationship of debt (peonage). The Indians would be given loans of money or land, in exchange for which they became obligated to work on the ranch. In this way a good many of the Indians became permanent peons, especially after the native population started to expand again. As their entire way of life changed, they evolved into a new class of rural farmers. It was a divided class, however, for they were locked into the tiny worlds of the haciendas, each with its own dictator-like patrón.

Other Indians remained in their villages, only working from time to time on nearby haciendas. They were changed less than those who worked constantly on the ranches, although they could not have failed to pick up new ideas from the time they did spend on the haciendas. Further, the hacienda owners gained a degree of power and influence over the Indian villages as a consequence of their ties with Indian migrant laborers, which brought additional changes. In many highland Indian villages today, the effects of hacienda paternalism are still very evident.

The mestizos were another force for change among the Indians. Mestizaje, "mixing," began with the conquest, for wherever the Europeans came in contact with the Indians they mated, usually under conditions of illegitimacy and concubinage. The cities, especially, were meeting grounds for these two social groups, but miscegenation also took place on the plantations and haciendas. Also, to a limited extent in Guatemala, Negro slaves participated in this mixing process, mostly in the plantation areas of the southern coastal and eastern lowland zones.

The hybrids resulting from this process were looked down upon. They did not seem to fit into the neatly segregated colonial society that the Spaniards were attempting to create. They fell outside Spanish law and lacked the Western culture of the Spaniards and the Maya way of life of the Indian. A racist caste ideology came into existence in order to explain them, and they were referred to by such degrading terms as mestizo (mixture of Indian and Spanish), mulato (Negro and Spanish), zambo (Negro and Indian), and castizo (mestizo and Spanish). In their condition of common alienation, they married and mated, confusing even further the already complex racial or ethnic picture. Gradually the racial stigma receded in importance, and only the term mestizo, or

Ladino, was retained. In Guatemala, Ladino is now the common term for that element of the highland population, rural or semi-urban, that is of mixed parentage, speaks Spanish, wears Western rather than Indian clothing, and considers itself culturally and "racially" superior to the Indians.*

In colonial times, as an alienated and outcast class, the Ladinos survived as best they could. Many of them engaged in illegal or nondescript activities, such as smuggling, trading, petty craftsmanship, begging, working as cowboys, and so forth. Others were caught up in various kinds of local jurisdictions: haciendas, plantations, mining operations, city workshops, etc. To a large extent they survived by their wits, and they came to value highly the ability to manipulate people. They did so by exploiting ties of friendship and indebtedness and by using language as "a strategy in which explicit meanings disguised implicit messages" (Wolf 1959). It was a crass and exploitive way of life and not a deeply satisfying one, as attested by their habit of escaping reality through heavy drinking. Nevertheless, it was a culture well adapted to their deplorable social condition, and it allowed them to survive as the only class with a future in Guatemala.

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*In Middle America, especially in Guatemala, the term "Ladino" originated during the colonial period, when it meant simply "to know Spanish (Castilian) well." Later, it was applied to Indians who had acquired a certain level of education, especially those who could speak Latin. Gradually, it became a generic term to designate everything that is not part of Indian culture. In Guatemala, the Ladinos constitute a definite social class, as distinguished from Indians. The definition, however, is much more a matter of cultural and social patterns than of race.

Wherever the Ladinos came into contact with the Indians, they attempted to manipulate them for their own advantage. The Crown was well aware of this and throughout the colonial period worked to keep the two groups segregated. Repeated decrees were issued banning the Ladinos from living in Indian towns, and when they became desperately numerous in the rural areas, special Ladino towns were created to accommodate them. Like most other Spanish legislation, these segregation laws were virtually ignored. By the middle of the colonial period (seventeenth century), Ladinos had become an important component of all the Indian towns along the Pacific coast and in the eastern part of Guatemala--areas where plantations predominated. Eventually, they found their way into almost all of the Indian towns of the western highlands as well, though in much smaller numbers.

The history of the Ladinos in Guatemala has been little studied, and we still do not know much about what happened to them once they penetrated into the Indian villages. We can be certain, nevertheless, that they were agents for change. Not only did they bring with them a very different outlook on life, but also, through their ties with the outside, they must have introduced new products, ideas, and values into the communities. They were like brokers between the rural and urban sectors of society, and they apparently profited handsomely from their enterprise. When Guatemalan society emerged from the long period of colonial control, the Ladinos were dominating economic, political, and cultural life within the Indian villages.

When one contemplates the many forces operating to exploit and control the Indians during the colonial period--church, state, hacendados, Ladinos--it seems amazing that the Indians were able to retain any semblance at all of a Maya culture. Yet they did, and it is still possible today to visit certain places in the highlands where the Indians continue to live a primarily Maya way of life. The spirit of resistance was somehow kept alive in the body politic of the Indians during the colonial period.

Partly that can be explained by the syncretic culture that the Indians developed, which must be seen as a form of passive or ideological resistance to outside forces for change. The Indians were not simply passively taking on Spanish culture but were weaving threads of it into a fabric whose outer design was Spanish but whose warp and weft were Mayan. This process began early and continued throughout the colonial period. Note this statement by a sixteenth-century Spanish friar in Guatemala:

> When old men are about to die, they pass on their idols to some other old men. They bid them guard them, honor them, and venerate them, because they and those who follow their law and custom will prevail, and that the Spaniards were upstarts and must come to an end. And that when they were dead, these gods would send another new sun which would give light to those that followed them, and that generation would recover their land, and possess it quietly and pacifically (Thompson 1958).

Bishop Cortés y Larraz, who visited the

Indian towns of Guatemala in 1770, complained of the same kind of resistance to the church and of the lack of progress in genuinely converting the Indians to Christianity.

Nor was the resistance entirely pacific, for the colonial sources contain numerous references to open rebellions on the part of the Indian population. Generally, revolt was restricted to a single village, often to only one segment within the village. Perhaps typical is the case reported by the famous English Dominican priest Thomas Gage. He tells of finding a "pagan" idol hidden in a cave outside the town of Mixco, which the Indians claimed had communicated messages to them. When he destroyed the idol and preached against it during mass, he was resisted by a leading clan in the town. A group of ten or twelve of them attacked Gage and managed to wound him with a knife and smash his teeth. Apparently there was danger of the whole village rising in rebellion, and the situation was controlled only when a vigilante group of Spaniards living in the area came to his rescue. Later, in spite of severe punishment meted out to the instigators of the rebellion, Gage's replacement was forced to flee from the town when he tried to stop the Indians from carrying out a Maya ritual in honor of an eclipse that occurred (Thompson 1958).

The Mixco rebellion is not an isolated incident, and the idea of the peaceful, docile Maya Indian turns out to be a myth. Nor were all the rebellions of strictly local importance, as may be seen by the events in Totonicapán in 1820. A Guatemalan historian has observed that this revolt should be regarded as part of the political movements that eventually led to independence from Spain. As he states, it was based "on the same original cause of the entire American revolution....against Spanish domination" (Contreras n.d.).

The immediate cause of the rebellion in Totonicapán was the Crown's renewal of tribute and other repressive measures, which had been ordered suspended in 1811. The Indians had been told they were to enjoy equal rights with the Spaniards, so when they learned that the law had been voided they revolted. A cacique from the town, Atanasio Tzul, and another Indian became the leaders of the movement. They sent notices of the revolt to surrounding Indian towns, which rose up in rebellion. Eventually Tzul was crowned "King of the Indians" and took on all the rights and privileges of the Spanish aristocracy. He wore

Spanish clothing, rode a decorated horse, and assumed the titles of captain general and governor. Spanish officials in the area fled for their lives, and Indian sympathizers, such as local alcaldes and caciques working for the Spaniards, were jailed and subjected to ridicule.

Tzul's reign lasted for less than a month, because Spanish troops from nearby Quezaltenango easily routed the motley Indian fighting force. More important, however, the rebellion clearly demonstrates the Indians' attitude about Spanish domination and their willingness and courage to act militantly when sufficiently provoked. To this very day, Atanasio Tzul is revered as a hero by the Indians of the entire western part of Guatemala.

## THE INDIANS UNDER NATIONAL RULE

Independence did not improve the social condition of the Indian in Guatemala, even though it did result in the elimination of the hated tribute system. In fact, it seems likely that their social condition deteriorated during the nineteenth century. The new government was disorganized and fluctuated rather abruptly between pro-aristocratic (conservative), and pro-reform (liberal) dictators. This left the hacienda owners and the Ladinos resident in the Indian villages free to increase their control over the Indians. It is probable that during the century following independence, a great deal of Indian lands fell into the hands of the haciendas, and Ladinos worked their way into dominant leadership positions in the villages.

Open rebellion by the Indians became more frequent and bloodier. Significantly, their attacks were increasingly directed against the resident Ladinos, apparently as a result of the Ladinos' usurpation of land and power. For example, the Indians of San Juan Ixcoy in northwest Guatemala one night in 1898 fell upon the resident Ladinos as they were sleeping and killed all but one of them, who escaped by hiding in the church. Apparently this desperate act was the result of many years of fraudulent taxation, peonage, and maltreatment at the hands of the Ladinos. (Unlike the Maya Indians of the Yucatán peninsula, who fought a "Caste War" against Mexico for similar reasons, Guatemalan Indians were never able to seriously challenge the Ladinos.) As with similar revolts in Santa Catarina Ixtahuacán (1839) and Patzicía (1945), the Indians at San Juan were severely punished for their politically-motivated crimes.

The most serious Indian revolts occurred during the periods when liberals were in power. This is because the liberals sought to integrate the Indians into national life by breaking down their encapsulated communities and transforming them into Ladinos. During the administration of Justo Rufino Barrios (1870-85) the Indians were forced to work for Ladinos in order "to create needs that they will acquire through continuing contact with the Ladino class" (Adams 1967). Likewise, during the rule of the revolutionary government (1944-54), an attempt was made to integrate the Indian into national society. Through political parties and especially peasant organizations, ties were established with the Indians that operated outside the control of the local Ladinos.

In contrast, during periods of conservative rule the Indians were protected and allowed more independence. This did not promote nationalization, of course, but it was warmly welcomed by the Indians, especially the elders and caciques, and by the local Ladinos. That is the reason that in most of the highland Indian communities today such conservative leaders as Rafael Cabrera, Jorge Ubico and

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Castillo Armas are nostalgically remembered and extolled. Since 1954, the national political attitude with respect to the Indians has generally been a conservative one, and no strenuous attempts have been made to break down the semi-autonomy of the Indian communities. Nevertheless, some of the power gained by the Indians between 1944-54 at the expense of local Ladinos has been retained, and in many villages Indian rather than Ladino alcaldes are elected.

A development of profound significance in the social history of the Indian in Guatemala was the establishment of large coffee and banana plantations in the lowlands. Coffee came first, beginning around 1860, introduced for the most part by German capitalists who established their plantations in the Verapaz and Pacific piedmont regions. Banana plantations were started on a large scale in 1906, when the United Fruit Company established a hugh plantation in the Lake Izabal region. The company later expanded its operation to the Pacific coastal plain, in the area around Tiquisate. Since then, plantation agriculture has spread throughout the lowlands of Guatemala, to the point where it now is responsible for over 90 percent of the country's export goods. Coffee continues to dominate production (about 76 percent of export value); bananas are next in importance (about 12 percent of export value), followed by such products as sugar cane, rubber, and cattle.

Even more than the haciendas of the colonial period, modern industrial plantations require land and labor. The plantation capitalists easily obtained lands that were once in the possession of hacendados or Indians; today, although they constitute only about 2 percent of farm owners in the country, they own approximately 70 percent of all farm lands (Whetten 1961:93). Likewise, they have been able to obtain a large, cheap labor force, consisting of both permanent and migratory workers. It was estimated that in 1950 there were about half a million persons living on plantations, constituting over 15 percent of the total population (mostly along the Pacific coast and in Verapaz). Apparently an equal number of migrant workers from the Indian villages in the highlands go to the plantations during several weeks in the year.

In the early stage of industrial plantation development, Indian labor was obtained through debt peonage, much as was the case on the colonial haciendas. This continued on into the present century, and when it was finally abolished by law in 1934, a "vagrancy law" immediately was put in its place, which had the effect of requiring by law that most of the Indians work 150 days each year on the plantation. In 1945, the revolutionary government repealed all laws of forced labor and attempted to establish labor unions to regulate employment on the plantations.

At the present time, the plantations still retain thousands of resident workers, many of them recruited long ago, who are now bound to the plantations by the plots of land they were given to use. Indians called *jornaleros* continue to migrate seasonally to the coast, usually with contracts made in the villages by agents, often Ladinos, who are residents there. The contracts are frequently verbal, and fraud and deceit are fairly common, but most highland Indians who migrate do so because they desperately need the money for survival. Population has mushroomed in the highlands, far outstripping the capacity of the land to support the Indians. The population increase has favored the recruitment of labor by the plantations and perhaps helps explain why labor relations between the Indians and plantations are now freer from strain than at any other time in recent history.

The plantations have brought many changes into the way of life of the Indians. Those workers who became permanently attached to the plantations, such as the colonos, have lost most of their Indian characteristics. Isolated from the villages, they are like tenant farmers, openly subject to the economic control of others. They are highly susceptible to despair, alcoholism, and radical politics.

The migrant workers are less drastically changed, and most of them return to their villages to continue living as Indians. Nevertheless, in almost imperceptible ways they are changed, and they slowly modify the communities they live in. Many return physically debilitated as a result of respirator intestinal and other diseases, such as malaria, contracted on the tropical coast. Malnutrition and hepatitis are also common. Consequently, they have to spend time and money in the village on medicine and recuperation, which depletes or even wipes out the savings they managed to accumulate on the coast. It also seriously reduces the time and energy available for urgent agricultural tasks at home. Unfortunately, their loneliness and frustration on the coastal plantations sometimes lead migrants to expend almost all of their meager savings from a season's work on a single fiesta.

Migrants tend to rely more and more on cash earnings, at the expense of more traditional forms of subsistence farming and craft manufacturing. It has been shown that some of the decrease in the highlands of maize production, weaving, pottery making, and other local industries is related to the effects of migrant labor. Further, the migrants' absence from the village makes it difficult to effectively continue traditional forms of public services and religious ceremonies. This is not just the result of the shortage of able-bodied men, but has to do also with changes in attitudes. The migrants are exposed to new ideas and modes of behavior on the plantations, such as the idea that work is to be done for pay rather than for community service, or that the individual, without his kinsmen and neighbors, has more freedom and excitement than he does in his traditional home in the highlands. Finally, it should be noted that children often accompany their parents to the lowlands, and thus miss out on their schooling. This explanation for school absenteeism is frequently heard today in highland Indian villages.

Religion has been another important

source of social change in Indian communities. During the nineteenth century the church was a conservative force in the villages, tied as it was to the cofradías and part-Maya belief and ritual. Indians served equally in civil and religious offices as they climbed the prescribed ladder to power and prestige, working toward the goal of becoming principales, or elders.

Protestant sects such as the Methodists, Presbyterians, Pentacostals, and Mormons gradually began to make themselves felt in the twentieth century and today control the minds of a small but important segment of most Indian communities. Beginning in the 1940's, the Catholic church initiated a vigorous campaign of religious reform through an organization now called Catholic Action. The program has been successful; it more than competes with the Protestants for control over the village Indians. In some communities, more than half of the population now belongs to Catholic Action.

During the past thirty years, most of the Indian villages have experienced at least one major crisis as a result of these new influences. In most cases the traditional Indians, aided by the Protestants, compete with the catechized

Indians and the priests for control over the sacred saints. The reform Catholics have usually been victorious, but not without violence and years of struggle. It is not unusual to hear stories of priests having fled town in fear of their lives, or of the church being put under siege by the traditionalists. Nor have all the signs of the conflict disappeared today, and much bitterness still exists on both sides in many villages of the highlands.

It must be remembered that these changes represent more than a simple reform of religious beliefs. Both the Protestant and the Catholic Action organizations work on the basis of conversion: they require fundamental change in the beliefs and actions of their converts. Many activities specifically associated with being Indian are prohibited, such as traditional marriages, participation in part-Catholic, part-pagan ritual (including cofradía celebrations), heavy drinking, worship of ancestors, and so forth. In addition, they involve the Indians in social organizations very different from the traditional Indian ones--congregations, conferences, cooperatives, and mutual aid associations. And, unlike the Catholicism in the past history of the Maya, there is no evidence that the Indians are able to effectively transform these modern organizations into forms similar to their traditional ones.

Of course, programs of social welfare also have an influence on the Indians, although the impact has been small compared to the political, economic, and religious factors mentioned above. The most important of the latter factors is undoubtedly public education, although it still reaches less than 10 percent of the Indians in the highlands, and then provides only one to three years of inadequate schooling. Other forms of welfare, such as cooperatives, extension services, public health, and the Peace Corps, are significant in a few places but on the whole have had relatively little influence on Indian culture.

## Ladino-Maya Differences

It should be obvious from the foregoing discussion that Guatemala is subdivided into two great ethnic or cultural groups: the Indians and the Ladinos. It should also be clear that the distinction between the two is no longer "racial," for many Indians have become Ladinos; indeed, whole villages formerly known to be Indian have become Ladino (a process known as "transculturation"). What, then, are the characteristics by which Guatemalans distinguish between the two cultural groups?

First and foremost is language, but other customs related to dress, occupation, worship, and government are taken into consideration. The Ladino speaks Spanish; the Indian speaks a Maya language as his mother tongue. The Ladino dresses in Western clothing, however out of style it may be; the Indian, or at least his wife, wears the native garb (often thought to be Maya, but actually derived from a combination of Maya and colonial Spanish styles). The Ladino usually does not do manual labor, and if he does, it is by European methods. The Indian practices milpa agriculture or a craft according to traditional procedures. The Ladino is a Catholic, though not usually within Catholic Action; in a few cases, he is Protestant. The Indian is only nominally Catholic, for he also believes in the earth god (Dios Mundo) and participates directly or indirectly in worship at Maya sacred altars. The Ladino is governed by officials who form part of an administration tied to the national government. The Indian is only superficially tied to that system, for his primary allegiance is to the principales and other local leaders who represent the lineages, families, and hamlets with which he identifies.

One finds many exceptions to the distinctions made above; for example, people speaking fluent Spanish, wearing Western clothing, eschewing "pagan" ritual, and serving as, for example, alcaldes, who are nevertheless called Indians. On the other hand, one finds people called Ladinos who speak nothing but Maya in the home, whose women wear native costumes, who practice costumbre (worship in Maya fashion), and who still revere the authority of their clan or village elders (many colonos would fit this description).

The confusion results from the fact that these designations are being made by different classes of people who have different points of view. Thus, the definition given above of what constitutes an Indian or Ladino is primarily that of the ruling Ladinos, who are interested in the extent to which the Indians have been integrated into the national culture. Their method of classifying people always runs into the problem of many people who are borderline cases. Therefore, the Ladino-

Indian distinction will be arbitrary, and this is true of the latest census which shows 57 percent of the population as Ladino and 43 percent as Indian.

In the villages, however, the distinction is usually clear. In most of the highland communities, one's ethnic affiliation is determined by birth and does not change, regardless of the customs one might adopt. There is also a tendency in such villages to associate racial characteristics with the ethnic groups: light skin and hairiness with the Ladinos, dark skin and hairlessness with the Indians. Further, marriage across ethnic lines is strongly discouraged, and there is some occupational specialization: the Ladinos perform professional tasks; the Indians engage in manual labor. And, even though the Indians far outnumber the Ladinos in most of these communities, the Ladinos usually dominate local politics and economics.

Thus, it can be seen that most Guatemalan Indian communities are organized on a caste-like basis and that this very system helps to maintain the traditional Indian way of life. At the same time, the national ideal is not caste-oriented, and, as noted above, national ideals have found their way into the Indian communities. Then, too, individuals can leave their villages of birth and become Ladinos by changing their customs. That has happened to most of the permanent residents on the plantations, and it is a common process in the cities, especially Guatemala City.

Even more significant in the long run is the gradual process of transculturation, by which an entire Indian village takes on Ladino customs and eventually becomes a Ladino rather than an Indian town. Already the process has been completed in many places in eastern Guatemala, and it is well on its way in the area around Guatemala City. The various stages of this process have been labeled "Traditional Indian," "Modified Indian," "Ladinoized Indian," and "New Ladino" (Adams 1964). There is an interesting gradient in Guatemala, running from west to east, along which the villages change from Traditional to Ladino. This has never been adequately explained, though it may have to do with the presence or absence of resources economically strategic to the ruling class.

From what has been said above, it follows that Indians are an ethnic group, subdivided into many small villages, where they live in caste-like association with Ladinos, carrying on a way of life derived from Maya, Spanish, and modern Guatemalan culture. They receive outside cultural influences, most notably from their periodic labor on plantations, from governmental officials and agencies, and from active church organizations operating there. Most of them grow maize, beans, and squash, and practice one or another craft that provides them with goods to sell in the markets that are held periodically in the town center. They participate in a system of religious and political offices, serving in order to fulfill community obligation and obtain prestige and respect. They attend masses and other Catholic celebrations, but also obtain aid from Maya priest-shamans, pray to the ancestors, and burn _copal_ to the gods at sacred altars. In all of these things they are subject to outside control--in their need to use the market and to work on the plantations, in their subordination to the Ladinos who control the political parties and the community, and in their reliance on the Catholic priest for leadership in religious ceremony. It is this contradiction between being turned inward and being dependent on the outside that makes them peasants and at the same time maintains them as Indians.

To conclude this overview of the Indians of Guatemala, a specific peasant village in Guatemala will now be described in some detail. The village is rather typical of Indian communities in the central and western highlands, and it is hoped that it will give the reader a more realistic image of Indian life than is possible through the more general statements given above.

## MOMOSTENANGO: A GUATEMALAN PEASANT COMMUNITY

Momostenango is a _municipio_, a territorial administrative unit, within the Department of Totonicapán and the nation of Guatemala. The _alcalde_ is under the authority of both departmental and national officials, both in his capacity as chief administrator of the _municipio_ and as justice of the peace.

Economic control by the state appears in the taxation extracted through the local administration--paid exclusively with money (_quetzales_*). The biggest taxes are the head tax (called _ornato_) for heads of families, amounting to approximately Q6,000. in 1967;

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*The quetzal (Q) is the Guatemalan monetary unit; one quetzal equals one U.S. dollar.

the marketing tax, (piso plaza), assigned according to product and also approximately Q6,000. in 1967; court fines, especially for drinking, about Q2,000. annually; and tariff on gasoline and liquor, about Q6,000. The total income from such sources in the *municipio* of Momostenango amounted to approximately Q35,000. in 1967 and probably does not vary greatly from this figure from year to year.

Ideas at Momostenango come mainly from the outside; i.e., the nation. As in the colonial and post-colonial past, however, they are reworked in accordance with local tradition, taking on forms related to, but lagging behind, the national culture. This may be seen especially in the religious sphere, where the priest of the Catholic church is the transmitter of ideas to the religious community. He speaks of Catholic Action in the national sense, but a "folk" or syncretic religion composed of sixteenth-century *cofradía* Catholicism and the old Maya religion with its earth god and ancestor shrines, still predominates.

## Social Organization

There is a traditional social organization in Momostenango (mostly rural), which has its roots in the pre-Hispanic Quiché culture and the changes that occurred during the colonial period after the conquest. It continues to perform important functions, but there is no question that it is being slowly eroded by the powerful cultural currents flowing from the nation.

Its most encompassing traditional organization is the _alcaldía segunda_, or Indian _alcaldía_. As its name implies, it functions as a kind of second or dual institution, and from the point of view of the national administration it is auxiliary to the official administration. It functions as such, but at the same time it also has certain important traditional functions which are clearly recognized by the Indians, who make up the great majority of the population. Its subdivisions consist of the ten or so _cantones_ belonging to the _municipio_. These _cantones_ are actually hamlets and scattered populations in the rural area, including those immediately adjacent to the town center, called "wards." At the head of the _alcaldía segunda_ is the second _alcalde_ (_alcalde auxiliar_), assisted by a long list of lower officials, such as _regidores_, secretary, work judge, police, etc. A simplified version of this institutional structure will be found in each of the ten *cantones*. But of greater importance than these officials are the *principales*, or elders. These are found in each *cantón*; together they make up the ultimate authority of the entire Indian *alcaldía*. These *principales* are men who have served step by step up the *cargo* ladder in the important religious and political positions open to all men, and it is they who choose the officials of the current civil hierarchy, from the *alcalde auxiliar* on down.

The functions of the Indian *alcaldía* are not simply paper functions but are very real and of enormous importance in the social life of the community. They include, for example, legislation of all affairs pertaining to the *cantones*, ranging from the election of officials (mainly in the hands of the *principales*) to deciding whether any of the historical documents of the Indians, such as the famous *títulos*, may be shown to outsiders. The *alcaldía*'s functions also involve control of the activities of the twenty-two *cofradías* in honor of the saints, as well as of the special rituals, including those of obvious Maya rather than Catholic origin. Among these are the Dances of the Serpent and the Monkeys and the *costumbres* by the *chuchkajaw* (the Quiché Maya priests) on the sacred days of the Maya calendar. Another important function of the Indian *alcaldía* is settling disputes according to customary law, which is mainly derived not from Spanish colonial sources but from the pre-Hispanic Quiché culture.

## Patri-Clans and Patrilineages

Many outsiders, and even Ladinos long resident in Momostenango, are often surprised to learn that on the traditional level there exists in this *municipio*, as in many others, a fundamental substratum of patri-clans and patrilineages, which are the landholding groups of the *cantones*. All of the *cantones* have several patri-clans--groups of persons with the same name who reckon descent from a common ancestor in the father's line--within the territory, although in the case of the *cantón* of Buenabaj there is only one strong clan, the Vicentes, who have some 3,500 members divided into thirty-four lineages.

The members of the clan who have the same name claim to be descendants of the same ancestor, although his name is usually not remembered. Nor can most of the members trace any actual genealogical connections to this remote ancestor. Nevertheless, to the clan members the connections are very real. The clans are subdivided into lineages, called xeteil, and within the lineages the genealogical linkages are well known. As a matter of fact, in some cases the lineages are more important than the clans.

A person's membership in a clan and lineage is determined by birth; it is inherited from the father. Even after marriage, when a girl leaves the area of her birth, she retains her membership in the clan. The clan is attached to the land, as symbolized by the warabol ja, an altar on high ground with stones and broken pottery in the form of a box, which is the place where offerings are made to the ancestors. Leadership is vested in the chuchkajaw (Quiché priest), along with the Nimak tak winak (the elders or principales). The clans regulate marriage and the distribution of land; conduct ritual to bring health and prosperity to members of the clans; provide mutual aid; process matters of customary law; and organize activities related to the cantón and municipio. The fact that some of the traditional clans in Momostenango have organized and are successfully conducting economic and educational activities should be of the greatest interest for programming in cooperative and craft development in this and other communities where a similar social basis for cooperation already exists. In Momostenango, the López clan runs an iron mine and the Herrera clan conducts a school. There have been many complaints in Guatemala that cooperatives established with the help of outsiders tend to wither away once the outsider leaves the community, mainly because the cooperative was an artificial creation without a pre-existing local base. Judging from the experience of the López and Herrera clans in Momostenango, it may be that with careful preparation and sensitivity to local problems and cultural values the traditional functions of other clans can be broadened to provide what has been missing: local motivation for successful cooperative programs.

Certainly it cannot be overemphasized that these clans and lineages are very important social groups, which represent fixed points in the world of the Indians. Some clans have more prestige than others, a status that derives from pre-Hispanic times when those clans played a leading role in the political and religious affairs of the Quiché state. The differential social position of the clans is not shown in any outward signs such as greater wealth of its individual members; nevertheless, it is very real in the minds of the Indian population. Obviously this ranking, based on history, is something the stranger must learn if he wants to immerse himself in the community and work effectively within its value system.

Momostenango in the Nation State of Guatemala

The social organization recognized by the nation of Guatemala is too complex for more than a summary account. The most inclusive organizational unit is the Municipio de Santiago Momostenango, which has a population of approximately forty thousand. As a sub-unit of the nation, Momostenango is modeled after the Western state and claims monopolistic jurisdiction over a specific territory. In fact, however, its boundaries cannot be precisely drawn because of an ongoing dispute with an adjacent municipio--a dispute, by the way, that according to historical records, dates back at least to the seventeenth century. There is an official administration, which serves in matters of legislation, execution, and law. It consists of the alcalde, síndico (somewhat akin to the North American office of city manager), four regidores, and the whole Indian alcaldía as auxiliaries. There are also a secretary and four oficiales, or sub-secretaries; a treasurer and his assistant; a police chief and policemen; an administrator of the market; five tax collectors; and others. The role and importance of the Indian clans and lineages is not officially recognized on either the national or local level; indeed, as has been mentioned, most Ladinos are not even aware of their existence.

There is an important stratification that cross-cuts the whole municipal structure, dividing it into two castes: Indians and Ladinos. Numerically the latter are a very small minority: the last census shows about forty-three Indians to every Ladino. In former times, when Ladinos held control over the municipal offices and the Indian alcaldía was a more influential institution than it is now, the two were separate groups, each with its own authorities and systems of rules. This is no longer the case, although the Indian alcaldía concerns itself solely with Indian affairs. Some Indians, especially those living in the town center, will have nothing to do with the Indian alcaldía, but both Ladinos and

Indians participate in the affairs of the municipality. In fact, the alcalde himself, at this writing, is an Indian. There is a national campaign to eliminate the ethnic basis of social stratification, and some Indians of the town center will argue strongly that there really is no such distinction and are incensed when the distinction is made in their presence. Nonetheless, the Indian-versus-Ladino structure is very real and affects every area of social life.

As is generally the case in Latin America, the two categories are usually referred to as razas (literally, races), but the term includes other meanings as well (for example, the more militant and ethnically conscious Mexican Americans of the Southwest call themselves collectively "La Raza," a term that embraces at once an ethnic, genetic and cultural heritage and consciousness). On the whole, in Momostenango, the basis of the Indian-Ladino distinction is primarily cultural rather than biological. Both Ladinos and Indians tend to recognize that they are mixtures of Spanish and Indian forefathers, although the Ladinos claim closer kinship with the Spaniards. Both groups note that Ladinos tend to be lighter in skin color, with a heavier beard growth.

In most of Guatemala, as well as in Andean South America, an Indian ceases to be an Indian once he drops the overt characteristics of his Indian culture (dress, language, occupation, and so forth). But in Momostenango, there is simply no way to change one's historically-derived caste. Just as a Ladino would not be recognized as an Indian even if he were to adopt all sorts of Indian culture traits, so an Indian who learns all of the cultural characteristics of Ladinos remains an Indian. Some even go so far as to change their names; for example, one family hispanicized its Maya name, Quej (horse) to Caballeros--but so far as the community is concerned, they too remain Indian. The only difference is that they may be called indios civilizados (civilized Indians). This is not to say there is no mobility whatever. Occasionally (though very rarely) it happens that an Indian from the town marries a Ladina (never vice versa), in which case the children are classified as Ladinos. The Indian father, however, remains an Indian, which is exactly what happened in the case of the present alcalde, who married a Ladina and fathered Ladino children.

The social and cultural differences between the two ethnic groups in Momostenango are numerous. The basic economic differences are these: the Indians are the holders of agricultural lands, which most of them work by hand rather than by machinery, whereas most Ladinos hold only the lands on which their houses are constructed. (In recent years, a few Ladinos have begun to purchase small amounts of land.) According to the 1964 census, more than 99 percent of the land in the municipio is held by Indian owners; 83 percent of this land is divided into small plots of less than ten acres each. Further, there are differences of occupation, for the Ladinos occupy the "professional" positions, such as those of teachers in the government schools, officials in the secretariat, nurse, dispensing agent for alcoholic beverages, and so forth. The Indians, on the other hand, are agriculturalists, craftsmen (blanket weaving, tailoring, carpentry, etc.) and small-scale merchants who buy and sell the craft products of the community.

Of the many cultural differences, the ones most often mentioned are Ladino expertise in the use of the Spanish language; manual labor by Indians; use of traditional dress by the Indian women; indifference to and inactivity in church matters by the Ladino men; deception in business and politics by Ladinos; exploitation by Ladinos of the Indian's illiteracy and unfamiliarity with national institutions; and feelings of superiority by the Ladinos.

In addition to the two large castes--Indians and Ladinos--and the clans and lineages of the Indians, there are numerous sub-groups within the municipality, all of which impinge upon the socio-economic and religious relationships of the community. These include such interpersonal networks as friendship; kinship by blood or marriage; ritual kinship and patronage; affiliation with such political parties as the PR (Partido Revolucionario), MLN (Movimiento de la Liberación Nacional), PID (Partido Institucional Democrático), and DC (Democracia Cristiana); religious groups such as Catholic Action and the various Protestant denominations with their own organizations; and national agencies such as the police and school system.

The informal networks easily change their organization. They are quite flexible and may be important in factional politics. For example, at this writing one powerful network includes the _alcalde_, his brother, his father-in-law, the son of his father-in-law, and some _compadres_. Another consists of the wealthiest

Ladino, who is linked through friendship to other entrepreneurial Ladinos (one of whom owns a truck that he rents out) and clients who are indebted to him. The latter include Ladinos and one Indian _cacique_, or chief.

The Partido Revolucionario (PR) is the party of the Ladinos; despite its name, it is not at all revolutionary. Rather, Ladinos attempt to use it to maintain political and economic advantage over the Indians, although ostensibly they propagandize for social reform and progress. PID and MLN are the parties of the traditionalistic Indians, led by Indians from the town center, including the _alcalde_ and his informal network. Their primary goal is to break the stranglehold of the Ladinos and to work toward obtaining local goals; for example, rural schools, removing the _vecinos_ of the neighboring town from their boundaries, and so forth. Democracia Cristiana (DC) is the political arm of Catholic Action. Its members are Indians who are primarily interested in the elimination of traditional culture in Momostenango. Their attitude expresses itself in such goals as enforcing rules requiring marriage and an end to giving money for the celebration of _cofradía_ or traditional Maya rituals. The overt ideology is one of international social reform and socialism, but those ideas are not really understood by or relevant to any of the members, who view party membership as a natural extension of their religious duties. The comparative strength of these political movements in Momostenango may be gauged by the figures from a recent election: the MLN-PID candidate polled 7,000 votes to only about 385 for PR. The DC movement was ineligible to participate in the elections, but the four hundred or so blank ballots that were cast may attest to its protest vote.

Catholic Action consists of about one-fourth of the total Indian population, who have voluntarily committed themselves to abandon costumbre, marry only one wife in the church, fulfill the other sacraments required by the church, and attend mass each Sunday. Many are true converts, and for the first time are beginning to understand and feel the teachings of the church. Because of regular instruction by the priest in new agricultural techniques and public health and weekly catechism lessons, Catholic Action is a medium of rapid change. Approximately one-tenth of the population today are Protestants, including Methodists, Seventh Day Adventists, Pentecostals, and Mormons. Politically less powerful than Catholic Action, the Protestant agencies are also an important vehicle of rapid change. Nevertheless, it should not be overlooked that the great bulk of the population--three-fourths of the total--consists of traditional Indians (_costumbristas_). Finally there is the small segment of inactive Catholic Ladinos.

Except for the schools, the national agencies are of little significance at the present time. There is a school for the town center (up to sixth grade), and thirteen rural schools (usually only up to the second grade). About 10 to 15 percent of the population can read and write, and about one-seventh of the school-age children are actually enrolled in and attend school. At the same time, the Indians today show some recognition of the importance of education. Usually it expresses itself in terms of success in commercial dealings, but many Indians resent the fact that the teachers are Ladinos with little interest in or sympathy for Indians and no knowledge whatever of the Quiché language.

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## CHAPTER 2

## The Compatible Souls of Maize and Beans: Agricultural Beliefs and Practices in the Maya Highlands

"Dios Mío, may my maize not disappear," the farmer calls out as he cuts the throat of a chicken and mixes the blood into a pile of copal incense. "Father Paxil, may you send showers for your feet and say there be dry weather for your hands," he continues as he lights the copal in front of seed corn lying on a blanket in the center of his house.

"Dios Mío, may my maize not disappear," he repeats. "Father Paxil, may you send showers for your feet...say there be dry weather for your hands...May you not send rain nor whirlwind to ruin the milpa.

"Pardon me, Father, may there be no ill fortune on this sacred spot...May there be no snakes in the fields today as we work...May my workers be safe...Pardon us, Dios, for this is the prayer of a poor man, of an unfortunate man.

"Pardon us Dios, Señor Santiago, Father Paxil."

Several times he repeats the prayer, as smoke from the glowing copal curls skyward.

Then the head of the household leaves, alone, for his *milpa*. There he plants a makeshift cross in the center of the field, burns two candles before it, and swings a censer filled with the burning incense and chicken's blood. He continues the prayer he spoke in the house, and when he has finished he waits for the arrival of his hired help or his relatives, who come with the seed to begin the planting (Wagley 1941:34-35).

Who is this Father Paxil? What sacred spot? What is sacred about it? Why chicken blood? Why incense?

Watching all these unfamiliar goings-on--the Indian's solemn *costumbre* in his house and in his *milpa*--the stranger, the science-oriented emissary of the technological world, is hardly to be blamed for feeling frustrated, puzzled, isolated, and just a little hopeless. Who can blame him if he decides to ignore the *costumbristas* with their feet planted in the past and turns instead to those who seem more progressive, more open to change? He has not come to study Indians and their traditional ways. He has come to teach them to use chemical fertilizers, to try a new variety of seed, or perhaps even to change from maize and try raising wheat as a cash crop. How can you mix technological change and chicken blood?

What he fails to realize is that the success he wants so much could be that much greater, or his failure that much less, if he did learn what the costumbre was all about. If he discovered how and why things are done the way they are and have been done for centuries, he would win the good will and perhaps the confidence of the people whom he has come to assist. He might also begin to understand that there are very practical reasons for behavior he may consider merely quaint or curious and for resistance to some of his "logical" suggestions.

He will discover that Father Paxil is the Owner of Maize. His feet--the feet the farmer asked to be watered by rain--are the roots of the maize plant, and his hands, which he asked to remain dry, are the ears. The sacred spot is each man's milpa, which is very sacred to the Guatemalan Maya farmer: his land is his life. Just as it provided his father, and his father before him, with their means of survival, so it provides him with his. So it will be with his sons, and his sons' sons. His land, his milpa, shapes his entire life. Since his subsistence and that of his family is precariously dependent on what his land will give him, it should hardly surprise us that the state of the weather, and his own activities of clearing, burning, planting, weeding, and harvesting, occupy his thoughts and color his hopes and his fears during most of his waking hours, or that all agricultural pursuits should be fraught with special, extra-human, supernatural meanings.*

The land is not only the Indian's security for life itself. Besides supplying his livelihood, the land--if he owns it--is a means of exercising social control and preserving family stability: his sons, who will someday divide the land among themselves, are expected to be obedient and hard-working in return and to provide for their parents in their old age.

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*There can also be unexpected social meanings. The anthropologist Ruben Reina (1959:23), for example, found that in Chinautla, a few kilometers outside Guatemala City, ownership of land is associated with the meaning of manhood. He noted that it was often impossible to accompany an individual to his milpa or to determine the exact demarcation of an Indian's land. This was due to a local belief that a person who does not own land or who has very little land is less of a man, and thus subject to social discrimination. Though not a universally-held attitude in the highlands, in those communities where it does exist it holds important implications for anyone trying seriously to take a land census or even just asking questions about the size of individual landholdings.

No wonder, then, that the Indian tenaciously continues to resist selling his land or even exchanging it for other land in another location. He considers selling his soil ethically wrong, since land is for milpa, for his family, for his sons. As long as he has his land he is assured the possibility of survival. Even if he does not own it, his emotional attachment to the land he works is intense.

His attitude toward his milpa is reverent in the extreme. For the Indian--for agricultural peoples the world over--the land and the unseen forces that can help or hinder the germination of the crops are at the core of religious belief and ritual. In the Indian's world, land and religion are inseparable.

It is something that intruders into the Indian's world have never quite grasped. Back in the 1800's, U.S. Army officers found it impossible to take Plains Indians seriously when they rejected the plow on the ground that the earth was their mother, and how could one cut the body of one's mother with iron knives? More recently, there was a beautiful example of this gap in values and attitudes toward land in the experience of a young agricultural extension agent working with the Indians of Taos Pueblo in New Mexico. The Taos have a long history of resistance to assaults, direct and subtle, on their land and culture. They were leaders in the great Pueblo Rebellion, which drove the Spaniards for a decade from all New Mexico in 1680. They also fought with determination against the soldiers of the United States in the nineteenth century. To this day, they continue to struggle for cultural autonomy and treaty-guaranteed rights to land and sacred places in and out of the courts of law and public opinion. It is against this background that Edward Hall (1959: 102-3) tells the poignant story of the young agricultural extension agent who liked the Indians and respected their culture enough to approach them slowly and with great care and who seemed to be having some success in introducing new concepts and techniques. But one day they turned from him and refused any longer to take suggestions or advice. Nor would they tell him what had gone wrong (a common experience of many people working with Indians). Depressed and frustrated, the extension agent went for help to John Evans, one-time superintendent of the Northern Pueblo Agency, who promised to do what he could. Writes Hall:

> The next time there was a council meeting at Taos he took one of the older Indians aside and asked

> him what was wrong between the tribe and the young man. His friend looked him in the eye and said, "John, he just doesn't know certain things! You know, John--think..."
>
> Suddenly Evans understood. In the spring the Taos believe that Mother Earth is pregnant. To protect the surface of the earth they do not drive their wagons to town, they take all the shoes off their horses, they refuse to wear hard-soled shoes themselves. Our agriculturist had been trying to institute a program of early-spring plowing!

The extension agent had unwittingly advocated upsetting a traditional formal pattern based on reverence for the earth as a pregnant woman with a body containing new life so tender that not even a horseshoe or a leather sole must be allowed to bruise it. As a product of an economically-oriented society, his mind firmly fixed on the desirable goal of improving the economic condition of the people of Taos Pueblo, he had suggested an act that to a Taos is unthinkable: violating with a plow the maternal body containing growing life. No wonder the people turned away from him.*

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*The Pueblo Indians conceive of maize and other food plants as already living under the earth when spring comes. Seeds are placed in the

# RITUAL AND TECHNOLOGY

It has to be recognized from the start that to the traditional Indian the proper prayers and ceremonies are at least as important to the growing of maize as are the various mechanical processes of cultivation (Wagley 1941:31). Interestingly enough, although in Guatemala (as elsewhere in Indian North and Middle America) maize, beans, and squash form a kind of holy trinity and are frequently grown together in the same field, there is little ceremony connected with the harvesting of anything but maize. For the Maya, as for other Indians, maize is the real basis of life and far more sacred than other crops. There is a widespread belief, however, that all plants have souls and that the souls of maize, beans, and squash are compatible and complementary. That is why they can grow together, whereas foreign crops, such as wheat or even new and unfamiliar varieties of seeds of indigenous food plants, may somehow upset the delicate balance of soil, crops, and supernatural agents controlling germination and

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soil to unite with the living plant, to show it where to emerge. The act of seeding is likened to the union of male sperm with female egg in the body of the Earth Mother. Hence the Taos belief that in the spring the earth is pregnant.

growth. This belief (along with some more practical reasons) underlies Indian reluctance to accept new food plants in place of, or even in addition to, their traditional crops.

Here, again, concepts and degree of resistance to innovation vary from region to region. Since each area will have its own specific beliefs and rituals, and since practices may vary even among individuals in the same community, the examples that follow have been chosen at random to serve as a general guide to the kind of world the Indian inhabits.

Charles Wagley (1941) has described the "copal of maize" (the costumbres carried out as part of the maize-growing process) in detail for the Mam-speaking town of Santiago Chimaltenango, Huehuetenango. The process begins with the burning and clearing of the fields in March, before the rainy season. Wagley writes:

> For this task, as for all others connected with farming, the Chimalteco makes costumbre to secure the permission and the protection of the supernaturals. As for all ritual in Chimaltenango, the individual must be "clean" for the occasion. He refrains from sexual relations the night before the ritual and, if it lasts longer than a single day, he preserves strict continence until the costumbre is finished. No special day is

> better than others for clearing and burning land and no chimane (shaman) need be called to direct the preparatory ritual and prayers. Early on the morning when the farmer wishes to begin clearing, he simply goes to his field, plants a candle near its edge, and begins his prayers. He prays that no snake may bite him as he works, that he may not step on a sharp stick, and that the job may be done quickly and easily. He calls on Jesus Christ, Dios, and the Owner of Maize, a deity which inhabits a mountain far to the west, to hear his prayers (Wagley 1941:32).

If a man needs extra hands to aid him, he will have to make another prayer to have success in obtaining such help. The second prayer also serves to make the field seem smaller to the workers, so that they will be anxious to work.

Unlike clearing and burning, planting must begin on a favorable day of the traditional Maya calendar. The farmer will call upon a chiman with knowledge of the names and properties of the days to determine the "good" day and to direct the important costumbres in preparation for the planting. To know the good days and bad days of the calendar is vital; planting must be completed on the good day because the next one might be unfavorable for planting. Sometimes the planting of a plot is not finished in one day. If the second day is an unfavorable one, throughout the growing season the farmer fears its influence; he worries until the maize is successfully harvested.

The actual planting ceremony in the center of the house and in the field was described at the beginning of this chapter. As always before ceremonial occasions, the husband must abstain from sexual relations with his wife. She supports him during the ritual, as she does in almost all agricultural _costumbres_, because she will be using the maize during the year. Even though the entire family lives from the yield of the fields, only the man and wife--who have prayed for the crop--have access to the maize bin in which the harvest is stored.

After planting, the _costumbres_ continue, in order to insure the safety and healthy growth of the crop. His wife beside him with the censer of burning _copal_, the farmer prays in the church:

> "Now Dios, now Father Paxil, now Day of Today, Father Kan, give us a hundred, give us a thousand _chilacayotes_.* Give us our two or

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*A member of the squash family, commonly raised in association with maize and beans in the _milpa_. The name derives from the Aztec.

> three hundred weight of beans. May your hands and your feet grow tall. May not your hands fall with the heavy rains. Now we have finished, Dios. May there be no whirlwinds over our planted fields. May the great rains not come for a month or two. May they not break your hands and feet. Pardon us, Dios. Pardon us, Father Paxil. Pardon us, Father Kan. We bring you this small present, because only this small piece of land do we place in front of you" (Wagley 1941:36-37).

Before each weeding a costumbre is made, similar to those described above. A chiman is not needed. The farmer and his wife can carry out their own family rituals, in their home, in the field, and in church. If, however--as often happens--men have reason to fear a natural disaster, such as drought, heavy rains, hail, or swarms of locusts, they may arrange with a chiman to pray for their fields. Other costumbres may be done by the farmer on an individual basis while he waits for the maize to ripen. There are also communal ceremonies for rain and other communal ceremonies on the Saints' Days, when they are performed to obtain the favor of the supernaturals for the entire village and a plentiful harvest for all.

Before the harvest, when the lower leaves of the maize stalks are cut away to be used as fodder for livestock, the farmer and his wife, by themselves or with a chiman, again make a costumbre. It is an important one because it serves to notify the various supernaturals--Dios, the Guardians of the Mountains, the patron saint (in this case Señor Santiago), and others--of the impending harvest ("soon we will cut your hands and feet"). On the day of the harvest the husband and wife again offer their prayers and sacrifices in the field. That evening, when the harvesting is finished, two candles are lit in front of the maize bin. The wife burns copal (from the sacrifice in the field) to the maize bin and her husband gives thanks to Dios and Father Paxil for the harvest. He prays that the maize may not grow moldy or be stolen,* that it may bring a good price, and that the tortillas and atole made from it may give him strength to raise another crop. Later the couple goes to church to take two new ears to Señor Santiago and offer him their prayer with the accompanying copal and candles. It is not hard to see that except for the thin overlay of folk Catholicism, not much has changed from pre-Hispanic times. Very likely just such ceremonies and offerings to the supernaturals and to the Owner of Maize in the fields and the ceremonial centers or family shrines were made by the ancestors of the people of Santiago Chimaltenango and other contemporary communities a thousand and more years ago.

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*Fear of theft is one of the reasons many farmers are reluctant to invest time and effort in cash crops.

In all of these costumbres, every stipulation is carefully carried out in order to establish the proper relationship between the fields and the supernaturals. As Wagley (1941: 40) points out,

> If these costumbres--individual or public--are neglected, the wrath of the supernaturals falls upon the heads of cultivators, bringing ruin to their fields. A great whirlwind, hail, or rain will lay waste the maize. Diego Martín believed that Dios had punished him one year with heavy rains, causing a landslide that wiped out most of his best milpa. It is easy for Diego to see the fault in retrospect; Diego had omitted to make costumbre before one weeding. At another time Gregorio Martín had intercourse with his wife on the eve of a ritual for the milpa. He reaped punishment in the form of a heavy wind which he says broke down the maize only in his fields; his neighbors' crops were left untouched. The vengeful Chimalteco supernaturals require careful attention and exact their due. They frequently express their dissatisfaction by a blow at the Chimalteco's most vulnerable point--his maize fields.

Something should be said here about the

element of sexual abstention in connection with milpa activities and rituals, which has been noted by Wagley and others in highland Guatemala. Sexual continence as part of the ceremonial aspects of agriculture and hunting and other rituals is a widespread phenomenon, not only in the Americas but elsewhere in the non-Western world. Digging stick and earth are frequently conceptualized as male and female, respectively, the act of planting seeds in the earth corresponding to the human sexual act. In some areas it is said that the plant spirits and other supernatural owners of nature, or the sun deity, are jealous when they see people having intercourse. Whatever the local circumstances, purification is an important element of all ritual activity and sexual abstinence is one of its requisite components. This certainly applies all through the Maya region, although in some places the prohibitions are stricter and more inclusive than in others. For example, in Tzo'ontahal, a Tzeltal-speaking community in the Chiapas highlands, certain types of sexual behavior are permissible, while others are considered extremely dangerous for the safety of the crops. June Nash (1970:42-43) quotes the following statement by an informant:

> One should not have sexual re-

> lations with anyone in the milpa because the Father Sun (Tatik K'ak'al) gets angry or "ends his heart." He will not give crops. He gets very hot. One time, many women in town were looking for lovers. They would have sexual relations with boys in the daytime. The Father Sun got angry and caused the crops to burn. There was very little corn. The price went up to twenty cents a liter. People bought bread and mixed it with the nixtamal.*
>
> It is different if a man is married to a woman in the church. The Tatik K'ak'al does not get angry. The Tatik K'ak'al does not have a woman of his own, and so he gets jealous if he sees people having sexual relations in the milpa in the daytime.
>
> But if you have relations at night with a man in the milpa, Our grandmother the Moon gets angry. This might cause an eclipse of the moon, and the crops will suffer because there will be no sun.

On the other hand, there is no prohibition in this community (as there is in many other parts of the Maya highlands) against having sexual relations prior to planting or at other crucial stages.

Thirty years have gone by since Wagley published his description of agricultural ritual in Chimaltenango (Wagley 1941). Has anything changed since then? In 1956 Wagley revisited Chimaltenango and spoke with some of his old friends. In the introduction to the Spanish edition of the original study, published in 1957, he made these observations: Chimaltenango had become more accessible to the outside world, and there was visible change on many levels. National political organizations had spawned the development of political factions, which could lead to an eventual break with the traditional organization. Religious missionaries, both Catholic and Protestant, were active, giving rise to religious factionalism and causing the traditional religious organization, religious beliefs, and ceremonial life of the community to lose some of their power. By that time the Maryknoll Fathers of San Pedro Necta had forbidden the _chimanes_ to make _costumbre_ in the church. Wagley's old friend Gregorio Martín, who twenty years earlier had explained the heavy wind that destroyed his _milpa_ as the consequence of intercourse with his wife on the eve of the _milpa_ ritual, told him in 1956 that he no longer believed in _chimanes_ and that few of the young people did. But others continued to believe in the power of the _chimanes_, and it was said that some of them continued to make their _costumbres_ and effect their cures in the dark of night and outside town, at the altars in the mountains. All this was hidden from the priests and from the orthodox Catholics who might report them.

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*Maize partially cooked in lime water for making tortillas.

Obviously, then, Chimaltenango was undergoing modernization. Nevertheless, the traditional beliefs and milpa costumbres continued to persist and had lost none of their former validity among a good percentage of the population. Wagley felt, as did the Seminario de Integración Social Guatemalteca, that it was of value to publish his old findings in Spanish. He concluded that the existence of two different ethnic groups would continue to be a serious national problem in Guatemala for years to come and that in order to understand the process of integration of the indigenous groups into the national life, one would have to understand the traditional forms of life--a point well taken. And, as Wagley observed more recently (1969:52), the people of the northwestern highlands generally continue to consider the help of supernatural agencies essential for the cultivation of maize, the sacred crop--as they do elsewhere in Indian Middle America.

While working among the Mam-speaking Indians of Colotenango, Huehuetenango, the social psychologist León A. Valladares (1957:

179-81) witnessed several *costumbres* for rain at the beginning of the rainy season. In a preparatory ritual, the *Alcalde de Costumbre*, the first *regidor*, the two *chimanes* of the town, and some *mayores* went to the sacred hill of Twi Bax outside town one night in March. The first *chiman* prayed and burned *copal* mixed with blood. After an interlude of music and the explosion of two sky rockets, the *chimanes* prayed together and sacrificed a turkey over the fire. Then a little house (*casa*) was built for the Owners, *Señores* or *Dueños*, of the hills; within it, an altar lit with many candles was set up. The first *chiman* entered the ceremonial chamber, prayed for a long time, and then extinguished the candles. The *mayores* put out the fire. The *Señores* (supernaturals) had arrived and those attending asked them when it would rain and begged them to send the rains soon. This preliminary *costumbre* ended after midnight.

The following day the *costumbre* resumed and lasted late into the night, with similar rituals and much dancing and ceremonial drinking. Valladares describes a dramatic scene: the candle-lit hut on the summit of a hill with lightning flashing in the distance; a slight drizzle beginning to fall, people seated around the fire, which is extinguished when

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the unseen Dueños (supernatural "owners") begin to arrive in response to the costumbre; the drizzle turning into a steady downpour; the musicians playing; and the grateful people dancing. The chiman halts the dancing and resumes his conversations with the Dueños. When he has finished the fire is relit and the music, dancing and drinking continue through the night.

More recently, Richard P. Appelbaum (1967:16) described rain-making ceremonies conducted by the traditional Catholic Indians of San Ildefonso Ixtahuacán, Huehuetenango. Here, the first rains determine the day on which the winter corn is sown. On a specific day at the beginning of the rainy season, the images are taken from the church and carried in procession to the summit of the highest mountain in the municipio, where costumbres are conducted to assure a good rainy season and a good harvest.

For Santa Eulalia, a Kanjobal-speaking Indian town in the Cuchumatán mountains of northwestern Guatemala, Oliver La Farge (1947: 76-78) described the agricultural rituals as he observed them in the early 1930's. They followed patterns very similar to those already discussed, although he reports no ceremonies prior to the various weedings.

There was an interesting practice during the growing season, however:

> ...in July when the green ears are ripening, it is customary to play a clay flute in the cornfields. As this is just before the beginning of bad winds, not all people do this, since blowing on the flute may bring the wind. It is said that they play this music to protect the field, "to look and see if there might be any animals," and that "when they're playing the flute that way, the holy corn goes growing happily."

The Santa Eulalia of 1968 had undergone a number of changes, some of which could be seen in the altered position of elders and women and in the growing acceptance of wheat and new varieties of potatoes and fruit trees. The elders had lost considerable power and control due to the increasing scarcity of land and the changing religious orientation of the community. They were still respected but were no longer greeted in the traditional manner. Women had gained legal rights equal to those of men, and within the household they were allowed somewhat less formal behavior. They were no longer obliged to sit on skins and furs apart from the men, but could now sit on chairs, talking, and even joking with the men. Some people had even begun to sow wheat as a commercial crop. Perhaps the most notable indicator of this new climate of change is the nature of the source material for the above information. It is a booklet written about the community by a "committee of neighbors": community leaders such as teachers, social workers, and the municipal treasurer --assisted by an outside social anthropologist --who are concerned not only about the future of the town but also about its past and present (Comité de Vecinos 1968:37-39; 48).

With these and other changes, one wonders what became of the traditional "copal of maize" in recent years. It is important to note that agricultural technology seems to have changed very little. Especially in maize cultivation, techniques, tools, and type of seed are still the ones that tradition and experience have proved satisfactory. Chemical fertilizers, irrigation, and soil conservation are not unknown, but they are not used (at least they were not by 1968). The types of seeds selected are chosen because they produced sufficient crops for the grandfathers, the fathers, and for the present generation. Is this "peasant conservatism"? Not at all--it is a matter of survival. As the Santa Eulalians themselves say, it is not that they reject new types of seed simply because they are new. Rather, it is that maize is basic to their life and as subsistence farmers they know full well that a bad experiment with new seeds would bring hunger to their families. Then how do they explain the acceptance of wheat, potatoes, and fruit trees, all new to the area? Simply put, these crops do not figure importantly in their culture, ideology, or even economics. They are secondary and are not considered vital for survival.

What about the midwestern region of the highlands? It is widely believed that ritual plays a less important role in maize agriculture in this area than in the northwest, not because the milpa is less important but because midwestern highland culture is generally more secularized. The fact is that even in communities relying primarily on non-agricultural sources of income, "life is attuned to the agricultural cycle and milpa agriculture is the occupational ideal." Communal milpa ritual is in fact not lacking, and planting ceremonies have been recorded for such communities as Panajachel and San José Chacaya (Tax and Hinshaw 1969:71).

In the Cakchiquel-speaking community of San Lucas Tolimán, on Lake Atitlán, Woods (1968:210-11) found that thirty-four out of forty male Indian household heads tested accepted as correct the belief that "it is necessary to do special costumbres at planting time to assure an abundant harvest." Thirty-five of the forty believed that "special costumbres must be performed at harvest time to assure an abundant crop the following year," and thirty-five of forty also believed that "a corn crop which is not harvested during the full moon will not yield sufficiently to meet the family's need." Interestingly enough, he reports that both Indians and Ladinos in San Lucas hold the same activity-regulating beliefs about the various phases of the moon.

Ceremonial practices connected with maize have also been observed in San Jorge La Laguna, in the Lake Atitlán region (Liskin 1969). In one such ritual, two candles were lit and placed on top of the maize after it had been harvested and stacked for storage. The men of the family explained the ritual as a costumbre that their father had taught them to perform at every harvest. A candle is placed atop the stacked maize every Tuesday, Friday, and Sunday until the maize is consumed, at which time two final candles are placed on the empty spot. This costumbre assures the safety of the maize and guarantees a plentiful harvest the following year. As proof of this, the men said that they had never experienced a crop failure during their twelve years of working the land. At one time, they said, a wooden statue of a saint had been placed on top of the maize in addition to the candles. But the statue had fallen and been burned by the candles, and so it is now kept on the family altar in the house, not used in the maize ritual.

The case of El Palmar, Quezaltenango, is especially instructive because El Palmar is a transitional community; it has undergone other changes that might give the impression that the old mystique surrounding maize had largely or entirely disappeared. El Palmar is inhabited by Quiché-speaking Indians who migrated here to the upper region of the Pacific lowlands, primarily from Momostenango. It is located in a fertile agricultural area where there are plantations for large-scale cultivation of a variety of crops. One would expect pressure for change to be intense in such an area, and, indeed, many changes in values and social relations have taken place in recent years. Certainly not all the Indians hold the same beliefs or carry out the same practices. The civil-religious hierarchy that was the visible focus of the corporate community has disintegrated, but, according to Benson Saler (1960:10-11), a clear corporate consciousness is still characteristic of the

Indians in this community of transplanted farmers. On the other hand, the Indians' perspective has changed to such an extent that when Saler questioned them about their personal preferences if they had the money to purchase land for maize or coffee, almost all his informants replied that they preferred land for coffee. Several even said that if they had enough coffee they would be able to buy maize rather than grow it themselves! Obviously the Indians here have become committed to cash crop agriculture and know that as a cash crop coffee is superior to maize.

Still, one should not jump to the conclusion that El Palmar is a community thoroughly oriented to what is modern. Despite the general acceptance of many new values and techniques, in maize cultivation the Indians continue to employ pre-Hispanic slash-and-burn, digging-stick techniques and to observe syncretic rituals that are much closer to ancient Maya than to Catholic. Catholic Indians are still seen burning copal incense or consulting shamans before planting and other milpa activities, although Indians who have been converted to Protestantism no longer do so. And just as at Tzo'ontahal maize is referred to as "the body of the Virgin" (an adaptation of pre-Hispanic belief to Spanish

Catholicism), so the transitional and even "modern" Indians of El Palmar continue to refer to maize as "our holy mother" and to regard it as basic to not only their diet but their very life.

Thus, even in a community of people separated from their ancestral land, subject to considerable exposure to modern ideas and practices, and oriented strongly toward cash crops rather than subsistence farming, the ancient mystique persists.

## INTRODUCING CHANGE

Agents of change obviously will have to select the individuals with whom they think they can work most effectively in their limited stay in a particular community. Most likely they will opt for the younger, more progressive individuals. Nevertheless, they will inevitably come in contact with traditional methods and beliefs, especially in maize agriculture. A Peace Corps Volunteer working in San Martín Jilotepeque in the midwestern highlands in 1969 found that a rain mass is considered essential in the early spring; planting is dependent on the full moon; and the older people, at least, continue to plant six seeds together, of which four are dedicated to various supernaturals. On the other hand, because of the influence of the Catholic Church, younger farmers now tend to plant fewer seeds together, but still three or four to a hillock. The farmers of the Tzeltal community of Tzo'ontahal, in the highlands of Chiapas, Mexico, plant five seeds in each hillock (J. Nash 1970:36-38). Although Tzo'ontahal has undergone many changes toward modernization in recent years and is easily accessible to the outside world because of its location on the Pan American Highway, costumbre is still considered essential in connection with agricultural activities. Following the harvest, a fiesta is held; its purpose is to

> reciprocate the spiritual owner of the corn by giving him a "gift." Two candles are lit and set on top of the piles of corncobs. Two other candles are placed near the heaps of corn grains gathered by the women. The candles cause the spirit of the corn to rise and give its "gift to the world" in the following harvest. Failure to make a fiesta would mean an end to all corn harvests (J. Nash 1970: 38).

In Chiapas, as elsewhere in the Maya highlands, there are grave reservations about the use of chemical fertilizers. A common fear is that the fertilizer, being "hot," may burn the soil and the tender roots of the growing plants. Some Indians try to "cool" the chemical fertilizer by mixing it with cow dung. In the Lake Atitlán area, a Volunteer noted these traditional arguments against the use of chemicals: "It changes the flavor of the maize"; "Tortillas do not turn out the same"; "It burns the soil"; "It burns the plant"; "The land will ask for it again next year"; and so forth. The last complaint is not too far wrong, as it happens. California factory farms have become dependent on chemical fertilizers, and the results are not all beneficial: these fertilizers have contributed (along with sewage and natural waste) to the alarming concentration of nitrates now found in California's water sources.

Obviously, these beliefs cannot be ignored or dismissed. Usually they emanate from the elders, whose influence in the community the agent of change will flaunt only at his own peril. Although the civil-religious hierarchy may be breaking down and disappearing in many places, older people continue to play a decisive role in most communities. They are an important factor in community stability. They continue to command respect and to exercise considerable control over their sons, partly because the system of land inheritance reinforces the traditional moral expectation that sons will respect their fathers. Even in a clearly transitional, rapidly-changing community like El Palmar, sons obey their fathers. To displease them would mean forfeiture of the son's right to the land (Saler 1960:100). Besides this economic aspect of intra-family relations, the elders still control community affairs in many--if not the majority--of communities, both traditional and transitional. If they no longer do it through structured channels like the civil-religious hierarchies and shamanism, they do it through informal manipulation instead.

The development worker must learn to understand the mystical importance of the traditional rituals and their concomitant unconscious psychological significance for the Indian; their role in providing him with emotional security in an insecure world. Take, for example, the widespread practice of planting maize and beans together in the same mound, often along with squash (briefly mentioned earlier in this chapter). The practice may be as old as New World agriculture; it was certainly prevalent throughout agricultural North and Middle America at the time of the conquest and impressed not only the Spaniards in Mexico and Guatemala but also the Pilgrims at Plymouth

Rock. Practically speaking, it takes maximum advantage of scarce land resources; also, if one crop fails, the farmer is still assured of some yield from one or both of the other two. Agronomists, however, counsel that this system reduces the quality and quantity of all the crops and that the age-old practice should be abandoned in favor of separate plots for maize and beans.

But to the Indians the rationale for planting maize and beans together transcends the purely practical. There is widespread conviction that not only do maize and beans have souls but that these souls are complementary and require each other's intimate presence in order for the plants to germinate and thrive. Many Maya believe that maize and beans have souls of opposite sexes and that their association in the same mound is a prerequisite to their growth (cf. Burgos Guevara, n.d.:282-83). Under the circumstances, how impressed will the Indian farmer be with purely economic arguments for the separation of maize and beans? Even if he can be made to listen and act on what he is told, what happens if one or the other crop fails? Who will suffer--suffer not only hunger but the additional psychological anguish of having offended the supernaturals and perhaps caused the souls of the crops to leave forever? Certainly not the agronomist, who had rational reasons for recommending the change and equally rational ones for the failure of the crop. And what will be the effects on future attempts at changing traditional agricultural practices? It would seem advisable here, as elsewhere, to attempt change gradually within the indigenous system, rather than trying from the start to replace the indigenous system, with all its social-psychological ramifications.

The fear of losing the souls of the crops is closely related to other ideas about plant, animal, and human souls. Soul loss can cause plants to sicken and die, just as it can in people. In many Maya communities the loss of productivity of the soil may be explained at one and the same time in rational terms ("the soil has become tired out") and supernaturally, by the departure of the soul of maize or beans. According to June Nash, the Tzeltals of Tzo'ontahal see no conflict between the notion of soul loss and empirical awareness of the natural causes affecting soil productivity. It is considered dangerous to start crops in the lower lands of the hot country in Chiapas--not because of the temperature but because when the traditional location of a crop is changed the soul leaves its original residence. For example, in recent years the bean harvest in the newly established ejido lands in the hot country has become poor after a promising start, and "people say that the soul of the bean departed when they introduced the crop to their ejido plots in hot country" (J. Nash 1970:40).

Nash makes another interesting observation that has implications for the introduction of new cash crops. Despite the many internal and external changes affecting the community of Tzo'ontahal, to its farmers even now, "market prices are of less importance in deciding what crops will be planted than are considerations of what the soil 'wants' and what labor is involved" (p. 35).

Obviously the second point, labor input, is purely rational, but it would be wrong to dismiss the element of the soil's "wants" as mere superstition. The Indians know their land and their traditional crops too well for that. They have a perfectly reasonable system of determining which crops and seed varieties are likely to yield the best results in relation to their own limited technology and the condition of the available land:

> In corn production, the greatest discrimination comes in the selection of seed. Seed is chosen from cobs which have the most grain.

> The farmer must look carefully to see that none of it is rotten, since if one grain is bad, the entire five grains put into each hillock will rot. There are two major kinds of corn: a quick-growing variety and a slow-growing variety. The first is preferred, but not all soils "want" it. The bitter soil "wants" the slow corn which must be planted about the first of February. A new seed corn introduced by some developmental engineers in 1957 yielded more grain, but it was not as flinty as the old variety and rotted quickly (J. Nash 1970:36).

In selecting wheat--a comparatively recent introduction--the same element of the soil's wants enters in, along with practical experience.

> ...the farmers choose those heads with the most kernels--there may be from thirty to eighty on each head. The same kind of seed must be used in planting each plot of land or the soil "does not give well." A new wheat seed was introduced by an American agronomist in the 1950's. The following reaction by an informant reveals why most of the farmers decided not to use it:
>
> > There is a quick-growing wheat, called foreign wheat because a foreigner brought it and planted it in the soil. Those who wanted to try it were given some. It was difficult to harvest because it was very dry and broke easily. Most of the

> grain was left behind on the ground. When it got to the threshing floor, most of it was broken. Therefore the town did not want it. So we continue planting the common wheat and it doesn't break (J. Nash 1970:39).

Because their harvesting techniques are inefficient, the people must choose seed varieties partly on the basis of how much grain will be lost in harvesting.

But the question of energy expenditure in relation to yield is of equal importance. It is an entirely rational consideration: is the reward worth the additional input of labor required? The answer is frequently "no." The agent of change would do well to consider the implications of the following story:

> One farmer raised cabbage in cooperation with a Ladino and earned 1,000 pesos, four times the amount he earned with his wheat crop the previous year. Despite the greater return for cabbage, the farmer did not plant it the next year when the Ladino, who had supported the first venture, withdrew his support. The reason he gave for this was the fact that there was more work involved and he could not accomplish it alone: first the crop had to be planted, then transplanted, then irrigated every three days in the early growing period, and cultivated two or three times; every eight days he had to get rid of worms. He

> estimated that growing cabbage involved well over four times the amount of work necessary for growing corn (J. Nash 1970:35).

It should be noted also that wheat cultivation already involved greater effort than growing the traditional maize. Maize grows in virtually every kind of soil but wheat requires irrigation.

The amount of work involved in food preparation by the women is another element to remember. In 1964-65, the Instituto Nacional Indigenista (INI) of Mexico encountered strong resistance to improved maize seeds in the Tzeltal-Tzotzil region of Chiapas. The men had accepted the new variety, but the new kernels gave the women trouble in shelling and grinding. So the men turned the seed down on the grounds that their wives preferred the traditional variety. Peace in the home was more important than increased yields (Burgos Guevara n.d.:313). A Mexican experience with introducing metal tortilla presses is also interesting. Here, it was the men who did the objecting. Many of the women liked the press as a labor-saving device that freed them from making tortillas by hand, but the men objected that the tortillas no longer tasted as good (an objection also heard in connection with fertilizers). In many cases the men prevailed, but the tortilla press is now becoming fairly common in rural Mexico.

On the other hand, labor-saving may not figure so prominently when it interferes with traditional patterns of social interaction. That was the experience in some Mexican villages in connection with the installation of potable water facilities. Along with tanks for drinking water, public laundries with faucets and concrete basins were constructed. On the face of it, the women, who formerly had to carry heavy bundles of washing long distances to the nearest river or creek, should have welcomed the innovation. As it was, the men liked the new facilities better than many of the wives did. Despite the considerable extra labor, the women preferred the traditional riverside laundries. Getting away from the pueblo and from kitchen, children, and demanding husbands to gossip peaceably with the rest of the women while waiting for the wash to dry more than offset the long walk and hard scrubbing on hands and knees. Today, some of the new laundries are used more or less regularly, but others stand idle, serving merely as a shady spot for the men and the village dogs to get out of the sun.

Agriculture, of course, is much more fundamental than laundering or corn-grinding, and, as has been mentioned before, any innovation in this aspect of Indian life involves a complex combination of economic and emotional factors. They may be interrelated or completely separate, but any one of them can doom a project to failure. Even so apparently simple a problem as separating two crops that have been grown together since time beyond memory requires more than recognition of economic advantage: it presupposes a fundamental realignment of values and beliefs as well as techniques. Acceptance of chemicals to fortify the soil requires more than only cash or credit in addition to education and supervision with respect to use and application. Like the adoption of new crops, it also involves a certain re-ordering of the relationship between man and nature.

## RISK-TAKING

Something more needs to be said about risk-taking. Laying aside the supernatural, or "non-rational," aspects of the interrelationship between man, his traditional lands and crops and the ancestor spirits which govern germination, growth and harvest, there are economic consequences to crop innovation that are perhaps more readily understood by the non-

Indian. Apart from changes in taste and technology--themselves not all that easy to bring about--acceptance of new seed strains or new types of crops requires taking economic risks that few people living near the subsistence level can afford. It takes great courage, not to say foolhardiness, to take a chance on some new variety of seed, let alone a totally unfamiliar crop, when even a slight reduction in the customary yield might put the farmer in debt or even starve his children. That was precisely the argument of the farmers of Santa Eulalia: the traditional strains of maize are reliable; foreign seed may give a greater yield, but how can a poor man take the chance?

Much the same can be heard elsewhere, and it is always related to the precariousness of the Indian's condition. A Peace Corps Volunteer in Nahualá, Sololá, cited a new, clearly superior maize seed as an example. With the old, traditional seed, poor soil yielded half a hundredweight of maize per cuerda; good soil yielded almost two hundredweights per cuerda without fertilizer and two and a half with fertilizer. The new seed, if fertilized twice, yielded six hundredweights per cuerda! Nevertheless, few farmers were willing to try the new seed even after it was locally tested and they saw the results. Most men spend nothing to plant and harvest their crops, and they were unwilling--or unable--to purchase the required fertilizer, even though the improved results would more than pay for the increased investment. According to the Volunteer,

> As long as the farmers cannot afford to take financial risks, agriculture cannot improve fast. Although we see no risk involved in using the tested San Marceño corn seed, they do. They know that there will always be a harvest if they use local seed. New ideas or methods have to be introduced slowly and demonstrated over and over (Unruh 1968:11).

Also noted was the fear of taking risks with secondary cash crops. If such a crop brought a low price one year, the farmers simply would not plant it again for some time, even though experience showed that prices fluctuate and a crop that brought little one season might be profitable the next. For example, the price of potatoes fell to a very low level one year. The following year there was a potato shortage (because few were grown); accordingly, prices rose to a record level. Similarly, the price of turnips dropped to one cent a dozen. After the next harvest there were few turnips, and the market price was high. A year later, prices were still good, but no one planted many turnips. Some farmers might have taken advantage of the low supply of potatoes or turnips and the correspondingly high price, but they simply could not afford to take the risk.

Here, again, the big problem is that until the whole socio-economic environment of the Indian is changed, transformation of any one of its components, however desirable the change might be, carries with it risks that may be unacceptable to the principal actors in the drama.

## WHEAT VS. MILPA

A changeover from one crop to another does not require only the willingness to take risks that might bring harm to one's family. It also implies a host of lesser but perhaps equally disturbing changes. These are discussed in geographer Oscar H. Horst's 1966 analysis of the implications of a government program to encourage Guatemalan highland Indians to raise wheat instead of maize.

The Servicio de Fomento de la Economía Indígena (SFEI) has urged the change since 1957, for a variety of reasons. Among them: wheat yields more than maize, bringing greater profits; since wheat matures in half the time of maize, the Indian can produce two crops in a single growing season without expending additional energy; and so forth. SFEI sees wheat production as the veritable salvation of the Indian, to the point that some government experts have suggested that the Indians be forced to abandon their uneconomical traditional milpa.

The Guatemalan government has maintained the price of wheat at six quetzales per hundredweight since 1952. Although the price support has been a determining factor in the increase in wheat planting in the valley of Quezaltenango and in other areas, only about one-half of cultivated land in the region is planted in wheat.

As Horst points out, to comprehend why Indians continue to resist expanded wheat production, SFEI must consider the fundamental relationship between the rancho (hut) and the milpa. The suggestion that Indians be forced to abandon the milpa system, and other opinions expressed by SFEI officials, certainly indicate a basic lack of understanding and regard for the value of the Indian heritage, the Indian's intimate association with his milpa, and the fact that the milpa is a functioning ideological and economic system encompassing many interrelated and interdependent parts. For example, the Indians always construct their ranchos in the middle of the milpa. When they are asked why, most of them will say, "Es costumbre." But whether or not the Indians are willing or able to express them in words, there are many good reasons besides custom.

One reason is protection against theft. Horst discovered from local court records that theft of agricultural produce from the fields was by far the most frequent cause of litigation among Indians. An even more important reason--one that SFEI apparently overlooked completely--is that the milpa provides the family with a conveniently-located vegetable garden that supplies much of their diet throughout the corn growing season. The practice of planting maize and beans together in the same mound, often along with squash, means that these vegetables are available for food long before the maize has ripened. There is a type of broad string bean (ejote ancho) and two kinds of squash (mocún and chilacayote). Green beans are picked in mid-June, almost five months before the final harvest in November-December; broad beans in mid-August, and, two weeks later, the green maize, eaten fresh, cooked, or made into nourishing atole. There are other useful products throughout the same season: the flowers, unripened fruit, and stalk ends of the mocún; after mid-August the lower leaves of the cornstalks for animal fodder; a little later the cornstalk leaves for tamalito wrappings; and at last the ripened maize along with the ripened mocún and chilacayote. For months, the family has fresh foods that are often unavailable in the local market, even if the family had cash to buy them. It is logical and practical to have these essential side products of the milpa close at hand. And, as Horst points out, they are not products that could easily be adapted to cultivation in a wheat field. Wheat, which grows in dense fields of closely-spaced plants, allows no room for cultivating other plants without damaging the crop, and the frequent harvests of vegetables would be physically impossible in a wheat field.

There is another custom that would be a problem in any changeover from maize to wheat, and that is the use of the milpa--principally the area surrounding the rancho--for depositing human feces and garbage. Horst points out that a wheat field probably could not withstand such refuse, whereas the less-fragile milpa benefits by its fertilizing properties. A curious sidelight is the Indian farmers' complaints (cited by Horst) that such natural fertilizers made the wheat grow too tall, so that it was easily damaged by high winds. The complaint seems to have been based in fact, because no fertilizers other than the refuse were used.

The above-mentioned issues do not exhaust the list of economic factors by any means, and they do not even touch upon the mystical attitude toward maize, "our holy mother." That is the single most important--if unvoiced--reason for the Indian's continued reluctance to grow wheat instead of maize. But it should be obvious from the foregoing that one cannot treat so drastic a change only on the level of supposed economic advantage. Even at that level, the issue is enormously complex; to see how complex, one need only consider the very pertinent questions raised by Horst:

> Can a sanitary service be established to take the place of the milpa? Can means be introduced to supply the Indian with chemical fertilizer and instruct him in its use? Can credit be secured and administered for the acquisition of such fertilizers and of improved seeds? Can roads be improved so that all wheat producers enjoy the same access to threshing facilities? Can the price of maize be stabilized to assure the Indian constant availability of this, his most essential food? Is it possible to convince farmers in the

lowlands to plant maize extensively (it is believed to grow more profitably there than in the highlands)? Will the Indian be able to obtain the side products of the milpa at reasonable prices that will convince him of the benefits of changing his milpa for a wheat field? And will the Government be able to maintain the artificially high price of wheat in the face of opposition from Guatemala's fellow members in the Central American Common Market? One can only speculate on the answers and on the inevitable modification or transformation of social and ceremonial life in the wake of so fundamental a change.

## A CHANGE IN TOOLS

In Chiapas, in the same area where the wives rejected a new type of maize because it was hard to shell and grind, the Instituto Nacional Indigenista of Mexico introduced a new kind of hoe, a little longer than the traditional tool. INI's agricultural specialists wanted the Indians to start farming the hillsides with horizontal instead of vertical furrows, which would reduce erosion. With less erosion, there would be less need for new land. It all seemed very reasonable: horizontal furrowing had obvious advantages for the farmers, and the difference between the old and the new hoe was slight. But the Indians resisted using the new hoes. What the specialists had failed to take into account was that the innovation required a radical change in the farmers' posture and motions while working on the hillside slopes. Using the short traditional hoe on vertical furrows, they could work facing the hillside. But on the sloping terrain, the longer tool required them to work with their backs to the hillside, a position that was unfamiliar, uncomfortable, and even painful. After a time, despite the discomfort, the new hoe won out in some communities of the region, but not in all (Burgos Guevara n.d.:289-90).

The introduction of a new tool may mean much more to a community than physical discomfort and changes in traditional work methods. It may mean the end of its social system. The cause-and-effect relationship between technological innovation and culture change has been of major concern to anthropologists for many years. Rarely has it been more compellingly documented than by anthropologist Lauriston Sharp, who lived among the Yir Yoront, the aborigines of Queensland, in the mid-1930's. It was a time of drastic changes in the way of life of the Yir Yoront; changes that ultimately destroyed their culture. We abstract Sharp's report here because it is a poignant example of the anthropologist's contention that culture must be seen as a system of interdependent parts. The smaller the number of individual elements, the more important each is likely to be for the survival of the whole. Whenever any segment of a culture is likely to undergo change, the consequences, good and bad--and always hard to predict--should be considered in detail.

Sharp's paper, entitled "Steel Axes for Stone-Age Australians" (1952), tells of the socio-cultural disintegration and tragic waste of a people that came about when European steel hatchets were introduced into the aboriginal culture. Until then, the Yir Yoront had relied on the traditional polished stone axe, and, on the face of it, the change might have seemed beneficial. Steel is more effective than stone. But the stone axe was not just a tool. It was the very symbol of masculinity in Yir Yoront society. In a culture with few tools, it was a vital one, and only the grown men had the knowledge and skills to manufacture it. Their exclusive ability reinforced their authority as guardians of tradition and tribal cohesion. Only the men could own an axe; anyone else had to borrow it.

But the stone axe had still other meanings for aboriginal culture. It was important in the trading relationships that extended people's social bonds beyond the small circle of their immediate kin. And it was deeply embedded in the group's mythology--the beliefs and legends that explained the tribe's existence and sustained its bonds as a people. It was the most important totem of one of the main clans, many of whose members bore names referring to the axe itself, to activities in which the axe was used, or to the mythical ancestors of the clan that was associated with the axe. In Yir Yoront ideology there was "a nice balance in which the mythical was adjusted in part to the real world, the real world in part to the ideal pre-existing mythical world, the adjustments occurring to maintain a fundamental tenet of native faith that the present must be a mirror of the past. Thus the stone axe in all its aspects, uses, and associations was integrated into the context of Yir Yoront technology and conduct because a myth, a set of ideas, had put it there" (Sharp 1952:20).

The whole system--all of it completely outside the Europeans' comprehension--was drastically altered by the introduction of the steel axe. As Sharp points out, the steel axe was only one of several European items that simultaneously intruded into the traditional way of life. But the steel axe had a much greater impact than the other new implements because the stone axe it replaced was so vital economically and ideologically. Steel axes were distributed indiscriminately and in large numbers to any Yir Yoront by missionaries, cattle ranchers, and other European settlers in exchange for labor, for real or simulated religious conversion, or even for attendance at Christian rituals. Women, who formerly had to use their husbands' stone axes or borrow them from relatives, suddenly were able to earn steel axes by rendering services--including prostitution--to Europeans. Even children could get steel axes as gifts or rewards. It was no longer necessary for men to be self-reliant or skillful in manipulating the raw materials of their environment. They only had to be "good," on the missionaries' and ranchers' terms, to get an axe of steel.

Trading relations with distant trading partners had been based on the exchange of sting ray barbs, used in making spears, for stone, used in making axes. Now trading broke down completely.

The older men, who had had unpleasant experiences with the Europeans in earlier years, kept aloof from the missions, so they got no steel axes. Their authority waned rapidly, because their exclusive ownership of stone axes no longer had meaning.

The Australian aboriginal culture was balanced upon integration of the mythic past and the real present. Contemporary cultural facts had to be justified by the ancestral myths, and there was no myth to account for the steel axe. No mythical ancestors were associated with it, as they were with the stone axe. The steel axe was associated only with the white man. But white, for the aborigines, was the color of death; ghosts were believed to be white, and totem ghosts were associated with a clan called Head-to-the-East Corpse. The steel axe, which was of the death-colored white man, came to be associated with the Corpse clan as well. But that created more confusion in the aborigines' world. "Axe," as a concept, belonged not to the Corpse clan but to another clan, whose ancestors were associated with the stone axe. The dilemma could not be resolved, and what it meant to the culture is simply and starkly described by Sharp:

> Can anyone, sitting in the shade of a _ti_ tree one afternoon, create a myth to resolve this confusion? No one has, and the horrid suspicion arises as to the authenticity of

> the origin myths, which failed to take into account this vast new universe of the white man. The steel axe, shifting hopelessly between one clan and the other, is not only replacing the stone axe physically, but is hacking at the supports of the entire cultural system (p. 22).

Other cultures have successfully incorporated technological innovations and remained intact, but for the Australians it was impossible. And so the once-lively Yir Yoront culture, which had endured for thousands of years before the Europeans came, simply fell apart.

Nothing quite so dramatic or tragic is visible any longer in Middle America, although it is occurring in the tropical forests of South America. The Indians of Mexico and Guatemala, like those of the Andes, long ago suffered and recovered from the enormous shock of conquest; from the material and ideological penetration of their indigenous cultural systems by the Europeans. Nevertheless, even here, where European technology is certainly well-integrated, it is possible to recognize the effect of technology on social structure. In an unpublished study of INI programs in Chiapas, Burgos Guevara (n.d.:288-89) makes some interesting suggestions about the causal relationship between social organization and the use of hoe and plow among the Tzeltals and Tzotzils. It was his impression that the two agricultural techniques--the hoe traditional, the plow European--require different types of cooperation and social structure. People who are forced by the environment to cultivate only with the hoe, he writes, tend to group in extended families. Those whose environment permits the use of the plow stress the nuclear family as the basic unit of cooperation. Burgos Guevara concludes that the social differences rest upon the relative productivity of the two cultivation techniques. Hoe cultivation on steep slopes is tiring and produces low crop yields; without the cooperation of the extended family, it would be impossible to carry out the labor necessary to wrest a living from the land. Plow cultivation gives better yields in proportion to physical effort, so cooperation outside the nuclear family is not necessary. He makes the interesting suggestion that primitive hoe agriculture dating from pre-Hispanic times, with its corresponding social organization, has become "fossilized" over the centuries because of the existing ecology and the social relations established and maintained by the dominant Ladino society--a situation that certainly applies to Guatemala as much as to Chiapas. It does not mean, however, that improved methods would not be accepted by the Indians if the ecological and social situation permitted--a very big "if." According to Burgos Guevara's theory, technological improvement probably would lead to a new form of social organization, moving away from cooperation by the extended family toward the nuclear family's working by and for itself. Whether that would be a desirable change in terms of community cohesion and cooperation is another question. Without attempting to generalize, it might be noted that in the Department of Puno, Peru, a change from common landholdings to individual ownership by the nuclear family resulted in a breakdown of community cooperation and an enormous amount of litigation, not only between unrelated individuals but also between close relatives outside the nuclear family.

Due to the strongly entrenched nature of the economic and social system, oppressive social conditions or ecological changes might still not bring enthusiastic acceptance of mechanization. Many factors, all relating to the social or physical environment, come to mind in trying to answer why neither tractors nor manual threshing machines have become institutionalized in the Indian culture of Chiapas, even where the terrain permits it. They are instruments of an industrialized culture and their use inevitably requires reserve capital for fuel, repairs, and maintenance costs; specialization of workers; greater quality and depth of top soil than usually exists, and so forth. But the strongest factor in resistance seems to be less economic than emotional. The Indians themselves refer to the machine as that "que viene a dejar vacantes los brazos de los parientes" ("which comes to leave the arms of the relatives empty"). It is better and more effective, as the Indians see it, to harvest wheat by cooperative labor in the agreeable company of the extended family than with a machine. Recently there have been more requests than before for loans of the threshing machine at the INI center in Chiapas, but the traditional patterns continue to be more popular (Burgos Guevara n.d.:285).

In conclusion: since agricultural production occupies the most fundamental place in the Indian universe, not just in terms of economics but of ideology and religious belief and ritual, it is clearly a sector in which innovation must be approached with the greatest sensitivity. The innovator must keep a weather eye out for beliefs and practices that might prove to be "natural" obstacles to his projects, as well as for those that might help facilitate them. Surprisingly, the latter exist, but the innovator must learn to recognize them early.

Of all the reasons the outsider might be given to explain why something is done in a certain way and cannot be changed, the most frustrating is certainly, "Es costumbre." Tradition could be the reason, but the innovator will need both historical hindsight and imaginative foresight to understand the causes for the behavior. With understanding of that kind, he may be able to avoid launching projects that are unacceptable or impossible in the eyes of the community even if their economic value is obvious.

There is a direct link between these final observations on agricultural innovation and the chicken sacrifice to Father Paxil, the Owner of Maize, described earlier in the chapter. The color of chickens--seemingly a small matter--can determine the success or failure of a scientifically-planned poultry improvement project. In Chiapas, INI introduced high-quality leghorn chickens, only to have them flatly refused by the Indians. Why? Because they were white. In Chiapas, as in Guatemala--where the sacrifice to Father Paxil must be a black chicken--only black fowl are valued. Black chickens are the only color suitable for magico-religious curing rituals and sacrificial meals. White chickens have no use except the purely economic, and who wants to feed chickens only for that?

At times the innovator may be able to build upon existing practices, even if they seem illogical to him. For example, the Indians of Chiapas chastise the soul of a fruit tree by whipping it, either to stimulate a favorable harvest or to punish it for not being sufficiently abundant. They also cut the branches with a machete, but they do not practice systematic pruning (Burgos Guevara n.d.:291). In Santa Eulalia, Huehuetenango, a similar practice of whipping and cutting trees that fail to produce, in order to ensure a good harvest the following year, has been recorded (Comité de Vecinos 1968:21). Possibly such customs could be adapted to the more scientific practice of pruning to stimulate new growth. Pruning shears might not be feasible for economic reasons, but perhaps some system could be injected into the random whipping and cutting.

In any case, building upon existing customs is a more productive approach for the agent of change than attempting to introduce "improvements" without considering existing methods and traditions. The innovator may feel that the Chiapas Indians' reason for rejecting chickens was not a good one. But the fact remains that to the Indians black is acceptable and white not, and that whatever color of fowl are raised, some will in the end be killed and eaten. What the innovator must do here is decide whether the disadvantage of seeing some hens sacrificed and eaten rather than allowed to fulfill their egg-laying function is not outweighed by the people's acceptance of a project because it fits with relative ease into their system of values. It is not simply a question of chickens, but of policy in guided culture change.

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# CHAPTER 3

## Cooperation and Cooperativism

The problem of cooperatives--the whole issue of cooperation versus individualistic competition in Indian communities--is one of the thorniest in the entire spectrum of culture change and development. It may be unanswerable, except perhaps in very general terms of desirable theoretical goals or on a strictly local level in terms of the success or failure of one specific cooperative venture. In any event, it seems impossible to discover a clear-cut and generally applicable philosophy of cooperative-building under diverse socio-cultural conditions. There is little agreement among social scientists or development workers whether cooperatives will or will not work in Indian communities, or why. Nor does practical experience in the field provide precise guidelines. Certainly there have been successes, but for every success one can find one or more disastrous failures under apparently identical or very similar cultural, socio-economic, and environmental circumstances.

Yet many development experts are agreed that, to overcome the obvious defects of contemporary rural life, some form of institutionalized cooperative endeavor is desirable in critical areas such as food production, marketing, crafts, or credit. Cultural barriers notwithstanding, no one will deny the urgent need for chemical fertilizers, improved seeds, some degree of mechanization, and control of insect pests and plant diseases. Equally clear is the need for capital and credit to finance these innovations and for some type of organization to store and market the expected increase in yield. Cooperatives would seem to be the most obvious answer. Are not Indians by nature or culture "cooperative"? Have not cooperatives fulfilled their promise under widely differing cultural and environmental conditions in the United States, Europe, Africa, Asia and Latin America? Has there not been a growing official trend in the direction of cooperatives in Guatemala as well?

True enough. And, indeed, in line with this official trend, Peace Corps action in Guatemala since 1963 has also been increasingly directed toward cooperative work. It is to be expected that the same will be true of other national and international development agencies. It is also true, however, that sharply fluctuating official trends and policies, especially on the ideological level, over the past quarter century have had their inevitable impact on local attitudes toward involvement in cooperatives. So the potential innovator must be familiar with some of the history of the Guatemalan cooperative movement, as well as some of the debate in social science circles about cooperatives and cooperation.

A public law creating a Departamento de Fomento Cooperativo (Department of Cooperative Development) was passed by the Guatemalan Congress in 1945. The objectives of the new department were: (1) to promote the creation and development of cooperatives, especially in production, consumption, welfare and credit; (2) to create organizational means for the collective exploitation of state-owned and communally-owned lands; (3) to provide economic and technical aid to cooperative and collective enterprises; and (4) to foster cooperative education and the diffusion of technical know-how in order to improve production and living conditions in the Republic of Guatemala. By mid-1948, fifty cooperatives and credit agencies had been formed (Suslow 1949:49-50). There is no denying that during the so-called "revolutionary period" (1944-54), programs of agrarian reform credit and technical assistance for farmers awakened many Guatemalans to the possibilities for improvement under a government concerned about the campesino as well as the burócrata. But the cooperative movement in Guatemala was beset by problems during those years: insufficient credit and the lack of adequate supervision, orientation, and education. By the latter part of the Arbenz regime (1951-54), the Departamento de Fomento Cooperativo had been rendered virtually ineffective by Communists and their sympathizers, who opposed cooperativism as it was envisioned by the government (Monteforte Toledo 1965:315). Despite these setbacks, cooperatives were generally accepted in Guatemala as an important aspect of economic development.

Then came the so-called "liberation" movement of 1954, with its political suppression of anything and anyone affiliated with the former government. The organization of peasant groups was swiftly halted. Communism was punishable as a crime and any "revolutionary" activity in the countryside automatically labeled Communist. It is reported that more than 2,000 political and union leaders went into exile during this period and some 9,000 others were imprisoned for periods of up to six months as a "security measure." Redistribution of land under the former government's agrarian reform came to a halt, and unions, independent political parties, and cooperatives were dissolved (Monteforte Toledo 1965:320).

It is not difficult to imagine the effect of such a complete turnabout (Monteforte Toledo calls it "the most extensive political repression remembered in Guatemala") on individuals who had only just begun to believe in the new government programs or who--after generations of inaction and political invisibility--had been convinced for the first time to participate in an organization: a cooperative, union, or political party. Even those who had not been jailed or held for investigation became extremely wary of any organized activity, political or otherwise.

For several years, there was virtually no political organizational development among campesinos or migrant workers. Then, in 1958, the political parties and labor unions began once again to attempt to organize the agricultural sector. The process was slow and difficult, not only because of the reluctance of people who remembered all too well the reprisals following the 1954 revolution but also because of opposition from the top. The owners of haciendas and other large landholdings were not anxious to see their workers organize and used their influence with the police and military authorities. A few cooperatives were formed during this period, mainly on the initiative of liberal Catholic priests, who are still the cooperatives' main support. But the organizations had very few members, and when the government did give support its effectiveness was limited by conflict between liberal and conservative factions. Conservative influence caused the law designed to promote cooperative development to be sidetracked and delayed indefinitely in the relevant ministry, and it took months for new cooperatives to receive government approval (Adams n.d.:128-29).

## THE PROBLEM OF CREDIT

In the early 1960's, cooperativism still had gained little ground. A study of the system of landholdings and socio-economic development in Guatemala published in 1965 by the Comité Interamericano de Desarrollo Agrícola (CIDA)* revealed that credit for small farmers was generally unavailable and marketing services or cooperatives were inadequate to the need for them. There were agencies specifically designed to provide credit to small landholders (the Servicio

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*Inter-American Committee for Agricultural Development.

Cooperativo Interamericano de Crédito Agrícola Supervisado, or SCICAS, and the Banco Nacional Agrario, or BNA), but statistics for agricultural credit in 1962 prove that small farmers were at a great disadvantage compared to large and medium landholders. In that year, SCICAS and the BNA made a total of 4,060 loans to small landholders: SCICAS made 1,016 loans, averaging Q1,146. each*, and the BNA made 3,044 loans, averaging Q316. each. The total outlay to small farmers by both agencies amounted to less than one-fourth of the total amount available for public credit.** The other three-fourths were spent in 557 large loans that averaged Q12,750. each; apparently, they went only to large and medium landholders. The discrepancy is even more obvious when the private banking sector is taken into account: private banks, which have higher standards than the public agencies for credit eligibility, made 1,236 loans in 1964, averaging Q20,156. each.

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*Q = quetzal

**A "small farmer" is defined in the 1964 Guatemalan agricultural census as one who farms a plot of one-and-a-half to seven hectares (one hectare is equivalent to 2.47 acres). The 1964 census shows that in that year there were at least 180,000 small farmers in Guatemala. It can safely be assumed that the same number is approximately correct for 1962, the year for which credit figures are given.

Obviously, as the report by the Comité Interamericano notes, distribution of credit was in direct relation to the distribution of land: a small percentage of the population holds the great bulk of arable land, and the rest is divided into tiny plots among a great many small farmers, who have no access to the means of improving production. From a strictly economic point of view, the unequal distribution of credit is understandable. Unfortunately, however, it has sharpened the existing socio-economic divisions in the rural areas (CIDA 1965:154-55). Simply on statistical grounds, it was clear that so long as the majority of Guatemala's population remained on the subsistence agricultural level, the country could make little real economic or social progress.

More recently, there has been greater official emphasis on agricultural extension programs, which have been aimed at expanding the credit available to small farmers as well as improving their techniques of production and marketing. Also, in 1964, USAID allocated funds to CUNA International to set up a national credit cooperative federation.* The new federation was titled the Federación Nacional de Cooperativas de Ahorro y Crédito, R.L. (FENACOAC); its purpose is to promote and advise the Guatemalan credit cooperative movement. Since 1965, the number of credit cooperatives reportedly has increased from 29 to 112, and savings have increased from Q45,000. to Q475,000.** From 1966 through 1968, a number of agricultural cooperatives were established--many of them in the highlands--with the assistance of rural development agencies such as Acción Conjunta, the Servicio de Fomento de la Economía Indígena (SFEI), and SCICAS.

Unfortunately, the statistics are more impressive than the reality. Most of the cooperatives established recently are small and rural, their membership often confined to Indian subsistence farmers. That is the case with the majority of the member cooperatives of FENACOAC; it has prevented the federation from assuming complete financial responsibility for its own budget. Instead of a gradual scaling down of USAID contributions, as had been planned, FENACOAC was scheduled to receive a 100-percent increase in AID funds for 1970 (Peace Corps Guatemala 1969b:3-4).

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*CUNA itself receives funds from the Alliance for Progress.

**Peace Corps Guatemala 1969b:3.

In order to counteract the lack of adequate leadership and administrative training that contribute to the difficulties of cooperatives, AID in 1968 established a private training school under the sponsorship of the Guatemalan cooperative marketing federation "El Quetzal." The school, known as the Escuela de Adiestramiento para Cooperativas Agrícolas (EACA), and located in Chimaltenango, gave three-week courses in the practical aspects of cooperative management to 148 directors from twenty-eight cooperatives during its first nine months of operation. Adjudged quite successful, the school has since received additional funding from AID (double its original budget of Q30,000. for twelve months). At last report it was expected that such funding would continue for several years (Peace Corps Guatemala 1969a:3-4).

## THE "PERFECT INSTRUMENT"

The increasing emphasis on cooperative

development is reflected in Peace Corps programming and also in Volunteers' activities in the field. Since 1963, Volunteers have been working in cooperatives on at least a part-time basis, and some new cooperatives have been established with the active participation of Volunteers. Volunteers have also been collaborating informally with FENACOAC since its establishment in 1964. In 1967, some thirty Volunteers began training for rural community development--specifically, preparing to work with cooperatives--and that program or similar ones are still being carried out. They are in line with official opinion that

> theoretically, such farmers' organizations are the perfect instruments for orderly dissemination of modern farming knowledge, channeling of small loans, mass purchasing of the necessary fertilizers and other supplies and the group marketing necessary to offset the power of the middleman (Peace Corps Guatemala 1969a:3).

As the same Peace Corps project description points out, however, the theory is one thing; the realities of Indian Guatemala, another. For every Peace Corps statistic showing a considerable increase in the membership and savings of a cooperative where a Volunteer has worked (and there are many such statistics), there are more than an equal number of cooperative efforts that simply failed to hold together. Worse yet, there are countless reports of cooperatives that simply collapsed when their Volunteer founders departed. The following account is typical:

> Recently a Volunteer terminated and returned to school. He was well experienced in agriculture technology and a bona fide expert in hog production. He, like all PCVs who are well trained, knew that Guatemalan farmers need more money, more protein for their diets, and product diversification. He deduced that his hog knowledge was well suited to meeting the needs of the people.
>
> One month after he left, the hog coop with which he had worked for two years held a meeting to consider what it could do without their expert-in-residence. The result was an immediate dissolution of the coop, distribution of the 30 hogs to the members and a sale of the assets (purchase price with AID assistance, $5000.00) for $500.00.
>
> Each member received more money, ate a little pork, and briefly experienced diversification of production (Peace Corps Guatemala 1967:13).

It matters little whether the cooperative functioned under the inspiration or with the expertise of a Peace Corps Volunteer, an agricultural extension agent, or a priest: the end result of his departure seems to be the same. At best, the cooperative becomes inactive; at worst, it dissolves altogether, accompanied by inevitable disillusionment of its members and consequent skepticism and resistance toward any further cooperative effort.

What is it that impairs the "perfect instrument"? Clearly there is no single answer. It must be obvious by now that there are many factors that impinge on the acceptance of any change in a traditional or transitional community, especially where the change is suggested by an outsider. The importance of understanding the culture and history of the area for any development effort, large or small, has been stressed throughout these pages. It is, if anything, even more essential in the directed formation of cooperatives, which involve a rather drastic modification in social and economic relations between individuals.

## DO INDIANS "COOPERATE"?

Ironically, outsiders with some knowledge of the Indian past appear to suffer greater frustration from a cooperative failure than their co-workers who lack such background. Granted, they are better able to perceive certain causes of failure, but one central question continually plagues them: Is there no relation between the well-known Indian tradition of cooperation and a cooperative organization? They are familiar with the many examples of reciprocal farm labor and communal efforts in the building of houses, schools, roads, etc., and they conclude that Indians must be "naturally"--or at least culturally--cooperative. Imbued with that idea, they find it doubly perplexing, if not incomprehensible, when enthusiasm wanes after the first meeting of the new potter's cooperative, or when the hog co-op dissolves, or when the chicken cooperative fails even to get past the planning stage.

One reason is confusion about the terms "cooperation" and "cooperativism." There is a tendency to relate or even equate them conceptually. Clearly, however, they are not synonymous. A feeling for and commitment to cooperation is certainly necessary for the formation and maintenance of a cooperative. The question is whether traditional Indian "cooperation" can be used as a foundation for modern cooperatives.

What is commonly thought of as Indian cooperation has two separate components: mutual aid, in which individuals donate labor to each other; and cooperation, in which members of the community work together to carry out projects for the benefit of all, such as repairing a bridge or building a school. In both instances, the Indian's willingness to cooperate is not entirely disinterested. When the benefits are obvious, the work represents a kind of investment. Helping someone else to put up a house or harvest a crop builds up a savings or credit of labor that will be returned when the need arises. Cooperating to repair a bridge--a task that none of the participants could accomplish alone--has obvious benefits for all (de la Fuente 1964:178).

Viewing traditional Indian cooperation from the inside--as each participant sees it--makes it easier to reconcile what the outsider sees as a tradition of group projects with the strong sense of individuality he finds in each farmer's conduct. Each member has a personal reason for taking part, whether it be reciprocity of labor, the use of a road, or social acceptance. One could argue whether the underlying ideology has a pre-Hispanic component or is largely the heritage of conquest. Here, as in the Indian's view of human nature as potentially evil, a good case could be made for post-conquest influence. Certainly the contemporary Indian institutions of cooperation and mutual aid are closely tied to the social and economic condition of the group. That is largely the consequence of colonial and post-colonial social and economic policies toward the Indian population. Generally speaking, the Indian forms of cooperation for mutual aid or the public welfare are characteristic of a very poor economy, manifesting strong group cohesion in the face of external and internal pressures. The strongest forms of cooperation are characteristic of communities that still have a vigorous traditional civil-religious hierarchy and emphasize community service. But it is precisely those groups that are usually the most difficult to penetrate with innovations.

The Mexican anthropologist Julio de la Fuente (1964) addressed himself to the problem of cooperation versus cooperativism as early as 1944. He took the view that Indian cooperation and modern cooperatives were mutually exclusive, the former breaking down as the community became more exposed to outside influences. It was outside influences, he wrote, that in turn helped to create the more sophisticated atmosphere he felt was necessary for cooperatives to thrive. He did not think the "spirit of cooperation" characteristic of traditional Indian societies could serve as a basis for the formation of modern cooperatives. The social and economic context of cooperativism, as well as its goals and mechanisms, were quite different from those of Indian mutual aid and cooperation, and family relationships and personal relations between individuals had no role in cooperativism comparable to their traditional roles in the society. De la Fuente did not deny the existence of successful Indian cooperatives, but he believed that their success could not be attributed to factors inherent in an Indian tradition of cooperation. Rather, he thought, success was due to propitious physical conditions, a solid monetary base, a modern system of exploitation and distribution, efficient management, and the like.

## THE "IMAGE OF LIMITED GOOD"

Anthropologist George M. Foster (1965) has created a model for understanding the ethos of peasant societies that has great significance for the development of cooperatives in highland Indian communities. Foster calls his model the "Image of Limited Good"; in it he defines the peasant view of his social, economic, and natural environment as

> one in which all of the desired things in life such as land, wealth, health, friendship and love, manliness and honor, respect and status, power and influence, security and safety, *exist in finite quantity and are always in short supply* (his italics), as far as the peasant is concerned. Not only do these and all other "good things" exist in finite and limited quantities, but in addition *there is no way directly within peasant power to increase the available quantities* (his italics). It is as if the obvious fact of land shortage in a densely populated area applied to all other desired things: not enough land to go around. "Good," like land, is seen as inherent in nature, there to be divided and re-divided, if necessary, but not to be augmented (Foster 1965:296).

With this theory Foster explains the

extreme reserve and caution often found in peasant societies and the fear of envy in a small, closely associated group. If the supply of "good"--material or otherwise--is limited, the individual progresses at the expense of others. Each minimal social unit (the nuclear family or a single individual) "sees itself in perpetual, unrelenting struggle with its fellows for possession of or control over what it considers to be its share of scarce values" (Foster 1965:302). People who do "get ahead" are considered threats to the balance of the community--a precarious balance at best, which is maintained by individual, informal group and institutionalized behavior (Ibid., pp. 302-3).

The human atmosphere in the community of San Jorge (described in the introduction to this book) seems to exemplify the first and second types of behavior categorized by Foster. The community is very poor. People are tremendously afraid of incurring the envy of others. Little visiting takes place beyond the gate, lest one's neighbor learn too much of one's economic and social affairs. Such a way of life seems to be perpetuated in order to preserve equilibrium within the community. Social relations will not change so long as no one appears to excel.

The traditional reluctance to admit change has been interpreted in a variety of ways. As stressed in the preceding chapter, an existence on the bare subsistence level hardly provides the security that would free individuals to take risks with a new technique or product. According to Manning Nash (1964), the entire economic and social system of a subsistence-level community seems oriented to a struggle to preserve its ethnic identity in a precarious economic niche.

> As such they eject the economic deviant, the social deviant and the culturally marginal person. This keeps a successful economic innovation which might lead to a change in the social system from spreading...to other members of the society (Nash 1964:303).

Ruben Reina's article on the fate of two native innovators in a Guatemalan highland Indian community (reprinted as Appendix A of this book) gives a striking example of informal or unconscious group behavior maintaining the status quo. Reina describes the subtle influence of community opinion in Chinautla on the lives of a girl potter and a young male farmer who attempted to deviate from community norms by diversifying their traditional production of crafts and foodstuffs. The "natural weight of tradition," to use Reina's words, forced them to give up their unusual activities and return to their original positions in the community, becoming again indistinguishable from other Chinautlecos. The community considered their innovative activities unsuitable for a Chinautleco, even though--or perhaps because--the innovations were economically profitable and might have been imitated by their neighbors.

Institutionalized behavior that contributes to community equilibrium is perhaps best illustrated by the civil-religious hierarchy that still functions in many Indian communities. Since Foster sees individual economic advancement (the accumulation of wealth) as dangerous to the balance of a closed peasant community, he regards the _cargo_ (civil-religious duty) of the hierarchy as a leveling mechanism that permits an individual to trade potentially dangerous wealth for harmless social prestige. By entering into the ladder system of _cargos_, a man rids himself of wealth by making donations to the community: he must sponsor a fiesta or give gifts to the church at each successively higher step. The rule holds up to and including the position of _principal_, the most prestigious and most expensive in the hierarchy.

The cargo system allows a man to redeem himself with the community by eliminating the threat it perceived in his accumulated wealth. All the men of the community are expected to accept cargos, and those who do not may be forced by the pressure of public opinion to leave.

Foster's characterization of peasant attitudes can be taken as one explanation for the failures of cooperatives in communities like the ones he describes. As he says:

> ...it is abundantly clear that traditional peasant societies are cooperative only in the sense of honoring reciprocal obligations, rather than in the sense of understanding total community welfare, and that mutual suspicion seriously limits cooperative approaches to village problems. The image of Limited Good model makes clear the peasant logic underlying reluctance to participate in joint ventures. If the "good" in life is seen as finite and nonexpandable, and if apart from luck* an individual

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*A more complete description of the importance of a person's suerte (luck) in determining the direction of his life is given in chapter 5 of this book, in Clyde M. Woods's discussion of medicine in San Lucas Tolimán.

> can progress only at the expense of others, what does one stand to gain from a cooperative project? At best an honorable man lays himself open to the charge--and well-known consequences--of utilizing the venture to exploit friends and neighbors; at worst he risks his own defense, since someone more skillful or less ethical than he may take advantage of the situation (Foster 1965:308).

Foster's remarks on peasant reluctance to take leadership roles may also be pertinent, depending on the community. The peasant feels

> that his motives will be suspect and that he will be subject to the criticism of neighbors. By seeking, or even accepting, an authority position, the ideal man ceases to be ideal. A "good" man therefore usually shuns community responsibilities (other than of a ritual nature); by so doing he protects his reputation. Needless to say, *this aspect of socially-approved behavior heavily penalizes a peasant community in the modern world by depriving it of the leadership which is now essential to its development* (Ibid., p. 303; italics added).

Foster apparently holds out little hope for the development of cooperatives in traditional, close-knit communities. He has been criticized, however--and not unjustly--for overgeneralizing when he developed his concept of the Image of Limited Good and for adopting a kind of economic determinism at the expense of cultural variables. One criticism is that by attempting to generalize for all peasant societies, he ignores cultural differences arising from the traditions out of which these societies have grown. In his search for a general pattern, he chose to emphasize economics as the motivating force in human behavior. The determining factor in his model of peasant ethos is economic scarcity. He concludes that a change in the economic opportunities available to the peasant will automatically change his values and beliefs. Such reasoning certainly is economic determinism in the true Western tradition (Kennedy 1966:1223). Foster's view of the accumulation of wealth as potentially dangerous and social prestige as harmless also appears economically oriented. Surely prestige can be just as much a way of getting ahead for the Indian as accumulating actual material wealth is for the North American. Indeed, Kennedy (1966:1215-16) suggests that ritual expenditure may be a way of demonstrating the wealth and capability of a family, thereby consolidating and advancing its status in the community--a far cry from Foster's portrayal of ritual outlay as a "leveling mechanism."

It is true, of course, that Guatemalan Indians are in some respects strongly economically motivated. But it is easy enough to refute absolute economic determinism with any number of examples of economically disadvantageous behavior that is apparently dictated solely by the prevailing value system.* The Pokomam town of Chinautla, only seven miles outside Guatemala City, is only one of many highland communities that have been exposed to outside modernizing influences but have chosen to maintain their values and traditions. Strong sanctions are exercised against members of the community who deviate from the norm, even though it is quite obvious from Reina's account (see appendix) that the whole town would have benefited economically by adopting and institutionalizing the innovations that were, instead, suppressed. Even in the highland community of Cantel, which has in its midst the largest textile factory in Central America, traditional values prevail. Although there is some difference in life styles between factory workers and farmers, and although some "leakage" into Ladino society occurs, the old value system has undergone few changes. The civil-religious hierarchy continues to provide the social structure for the community, and wealth is used for community-defined ends. As M. Nash (1964:295) writes:

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* In this connection there comes to mind the case of the Piaroa, a South American tropical forest Indian group, who live in an environment rich in the largest and most succulent game available to the Indian hunter: the tapir. Yet the Piaroa neither kill nor eat tapirs, because they are considered sacred. In times of scarcity of other foods, this may create considerable hardship. If economics were the strongest motivating force, the Indians should logically have modified their ideology long ago to shift their taboo to some other, economically less significant animal.

> Cantelenses are aware of the possibilities of personal wealth leading them into Ladino society, and most of them would clearly choose a pattern of ritual and prestige expenditure in the local context than the known alternative of being at the bottom of rural Ladino society.

The structure of group relations may play a vital role in the success or failure of a cooperative. Sanctions exercised by the community against deviants are clearly deterrents to the development of innovation from within. The usual results, with the innovator either conforming or else leaving the community, have been mentioned. The significance of understanding the existence of such intense group solidarity can be seen in the extreme case of Amatenango, a Tzeltal community in Chiapas, Mexico. Here the people have a fierce pride in their independence and group identity, as opposed to the surrounding Ladino world. Serving to perpetuate their enclave is a system of witchcraft beliefs and practices that encourages people to mold themselves to the prevailing norms and physically punishes those who consciously deviate. M. Nash (1964:302) reports that for the year for which he had data, every two months the group killed someone for practicing witchcraft.

> And the slain are those who have deviated, or become salient, in a direction violating either the economic homogeneity tendencies of the community, or its power structure which rests on age and previous service in the hierarchy. All in all Amatenango appears to be a community not likely to lift itself by its own bootstraps, but at the same time one which can maintain its social identity in the face of great pressures, both political and economic, on its way of life.

The threat of physical punishment or even death for witchcraft is by no means limited to Amatenango. It may be an extreme example of social pressure in action, but it is useful to know to what lengths a community may go to preserve and enforce group solidarity and identity vis-à-vis the outside world. Needless to say, the community itself is rarely conscious of the reasons it acts the way it does, and few, if any, of its members would be able to rationalize witchcraft as a technique of enforcing conformity to community standards. Of course, the Maya Indians of the Guatemalan highlands are hardly alone in exacting conformity from members of the community or expelling or otherwise punishing those who refuse to conform.

There are, in fact, communities in which traditional elements maintain considerable strength and influence even though the civil-religious hierarchy (which many writers deem essential to the social cohesion of the group) has broken down.

Neither these nor other objections to Foster's central argument are intended to discredit his model altogether. On the contrary, it is valuable and must be taken into account in planning cooperatives in relatively closed societies--if not in all Indian peasant communities--in Mesoamerica. Foster and de la Fuente have helped to show how the traditional community and traditional practices differ from and even tend to conflict with modern cooperativism. They have also demonstrated that Indian patterns of cooperation are not really very "cooperative" in their motivation. The individualistic motives behind those group endeavors, however, might ultimately favor the development of cooperatives. After all, people anywhere join a cooperative for the benefits they hope it will bring them as individuals, not for its value to their fellow members or the community as a whole. So success in introducing a cooperative probably does not depend entirely on the similarities or differences between the modern organization and the Indian institutions of mutual aid and cooperation. Rather, it depends considerably on the nature of the particular community and whether its members feel the need for some form of institutionalized cooperative endeavor.

## EXISTING STRUCTURES

Knowledge of the presence of certain kin-based groups or religious and political factions within the larger community can also be of use to the innovator interested in starting a cooperative or keeping one going. It may, in fact, become the determining factor in the success or failure of his efforts. In Ostuncalco, for example, a community torn by intense religious and political factionalism, one could easily doom a project from the start by unwittingly approaching members of conflicting groups. It is hard to imagine *catequistas* and *cofrades* burying their ideological hatchets and working together for common economic and social goals within a single cooperative. Of course, one might begin with two cooperatives--one for each faction--but that would require resources that are not usually available. And there are already a number of cooperatives that draw their membership from only one faction of a community (e.g., Catholic Action) and are therefore shunned by all the rest, to the detriment of community cohesion.

The existence of mutually exclusive groups need not necessarily be detrimental to the formation of cooperatives, however, especially when the groups are kin-based, not based on political or religious factionalism. In chapter 1 ("A Social History of the Guatemalan Indian"), Robert M. Carmack noted the existence of clans in Momostenango and their possible significance for the cooperative movement. An innovator must be aware that there may be such clan lines in his community and that they may have considerable strength. On the negative side, an evident lack of enthusiasm on the part of community members may be due to the innovator's failure to take account of the traditional clans and their social and economic role. On the positive side, it may be possible to base cooperatives on clans, as Carmack has suggested. In Momostenango, a clan function is "to provide mutual aid to process matters of customary law"; two clans operate, respectively, a school and an iron mine. Could these functions be gradually broadened to include services one would receive by belonging to a cooperative? It would seem that a sturdy base for group action already exists and has existed for some time. Why attempt to reorganize the community along new lines in order to fit into the mold of North American cooperative experience?*

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*Africa provides a valuable case in point. Brokensha (1968:77) notes that cooperative societies in Tanzania have "built on local institutions so successfully that they have now become an integral and significant part of the local social organization."

Similarly, religious groups may provide fertile soil for cooperative development, although, as already noted, this may lead to factional exclusivity. There are numerous examples of effective cooperatives, initiated and run by Catholic priests and based on Catholic Action. There is in these a negative aspect--the *patrón*-client relationship, which will be discussed below--but they do demonstrate that an existing organization, that has the confidence of the people and sufficient power and influence to motivate them is an ideal foundation for a cooperative. Building upon the structure of a *cofradía*, for example, would greatly reduce organizational problems in the highlands. Although these are usually the most traditional groups, it is a possibility to keep in mind. Perhaps in a community that has access to outside sources of wealth, in which younger men are able to move up the hierarchical ladder with greater than usual rapidity, innovative ideas might be successfully introduced over time. Even this, however, would have to be a long-term project, probably extending over a longer span of time than agricultural agents normally have at their disposal.

The alternative is working through the church, but that presents a dilemma. It is true that church-affiliated cooperatives tend to be effective. By working with one of them, the Volunteer might be able to bring about some real progress. The trouble is that an outsider who associates with the local priest, even casually, inevitably risks alienating certain sectors of the community. They may be sectors that would be interested in the advice of a trained outsider, but they will never accept him if they think he is affiliated with a Catholic organization that they dislike.

## THE *PATRÓN-ENCOGIDO* SYNDROME

There is another problem inherent in church-related cooperatives. More often than not they were initiated and are run by energetic priests who do know their cooperative business and who have some influence over the membership. The problem arises when one considers the fate of such a cooperative if the priest is transferred from the region. As in the case of the Peace Corps hog-raising expert (and, unfortunately, many other Volunteers working effectively with cooperatives), the cooperative would probably fold without the continued encouragement and support of the priest as leader. Many priests have been accused of being another kind of patrón, an accusation that can also be leveled at some Volunteers who tend to do too much for "their" cooperative. It has even been suggested that community development activities frequently serve to perpetuate the old patrón-client relationship (Erasmus 1968a:72-73)*, when the supposed aim of development projects is precisely the opposite--to free the Indian from all forms of bondage, economic as well as psychological, and enable individuals and communities to stand on their own feet. If community development were to be truly successful, it would work itself out of existence, which some would suggest it is not about to do. Some Peace Corps Volunteers have recognized in their fellow Volunteers, their Guatemalan counterparts, and even in themselves the tendency to become patrones.* They have concluded that no matter how much good they seem to be doing for a community, their positions should be left vacant when they leave. They reason correctly that if the cooperatives they are assisting will not continue without them--or people like them--then the organizations are not as important to the community as had been thought. Why sustain from the outside an institution that no one on the inside really wants?

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*Erasmus has labeled this the "encogido syndrome," a term he took from Sonora, Mexico. The encogido is one who is timid and withdrawn and who avoids persons of higher status except for a few intimates known to him in the immediate community who act as social "brokers" between him and the outside world. Encogido families tend to perpetuate their position by adhering to customs that stereotype them (Erasmus 1968a:70-71).

## "FELT NEED"

This raises the issue of the "felt need," a basic principle so often and loosely tossed about in community development circles that project workers may easily assume that it exists, if they don't simply ignore the issue altogether. Projects are regularly conceived and implemented by outsiders with little thought whether the supposed beneficiaries see any need for the hoped-for benefits. Small wonder that there are so many failures! A potters' cooperative in Totonicapán, near Quezaltenango, provides a case in point. Several years ago Acción Conjunta, a Guatemalan government agency for development, called together a group of potters and introduced them to the idea of organizing themselves into a cooperative. As local people recall it, between twenty and thirty signed up. But the group as a whole never met again. Nine or ten members did attend meetings, and a Peace Corps Volunteer took an active interest in the group's potential for achieving certain changes. He hoped that they could eventually produce stoneware, a very durable ceramic that is fired at much higher temperatures than the more porous native earthenware. In the Volunteer's initial enthusiasm, it seemed an easy task to modify the potters' product.

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*The use of the encogido image as a "front" by the local community to exploit their superiors has also been suggested (Davis 1968). To substantiate this, PCVs have noted that the Indians with whom they work are often much smarter than they like to appear to outsiders. It is easy to see how an energetic agent of change could get pulled into the patrón role by a community that gladly permits him to do things for it.

Casting about for sources of assistance, the Volunteer obtained a clay-grinding machine through AID. The machine was finally placed in the home of Andrés, one of the members, as a solution to the dilemma of finding a convenient location that would not require payment of an exorbitant rent. There it sat for about six months; there was no electric power to run it. Eventually lines were installed and the machine was put to use. The Volunteer spent considerable time talking with the potters. Gradually he set up machinery for preparing clays and glazes and a kiln for firing to stoneware temperatures, even though the cooperative members did not change their product or build new individual kilns. Then the Volunteer left.

A visit by the authors to three members of the cooperative in 1969 revealed the following: few if any of the nine remaining members were using the grinding machine. It was too far away for some; too much trouble to transport the clay there and take it back home to work it. One could hire women to grind it in one's own backyard for the same price, even if they took a little longer and did not grind it so fine. Then, too, the machine was not reliable. The electric power was often cut off or the machine broke down and one's clay set there for days or even weeks. Although no one actually said so, it may also be that there were personality conflicts between Andrés, the man in whose house the machine was located, and some of the other members. In any case, the only member (socio) who regularly used the machine was Andrés himself. He told us that up until the week before our visit the machine had proved more of a problem than a help. The cooperative was charged Q16.50 per month for the electricity, whether or not the machine was in use. The monthly quota for members was Q2.00, but no one paid it, and the cooperative's savings had been used up long ago to pay for the costs of transporting the machine and for materials to set it up. Everyone knew there were back bills to be paid, so of course no one attended the meetings. Andrés was frantically trying to find ways of paying the bills so that the machine could continue to function. He was barely keeping ahead, if that, and remarked sadly that it was more than one man could handle, even if he employed helpers, and that apart from a few luxuries he had managed to purchase with extra money earned as a socio, he was no better off today in real income than when he had done everything by hand. The week before our visit he had managed to arrange to pay only for the actual power used by the machine, a reduction of Q10.00 in monthly costs. He was relieved and glad to be working. Working hard to get by was better than spending the days in the street, he said.

In his termination report the Volunteer had remarked that the main problem of the potters' cooperative had been lack of goals and leadership: "They need to have objectives and define them themselves to have a clear opinion of what they want and why." Each of the members visited expressed the feeling that the cooperative was not originally their idea. There was a lack of costumbre and knowledge regarding these things. One man also reported that some people were afraid of the cooperative because the gente rica, capitalistas (rich people, capitalists)--i.e., the middlemen--were telling them not to join. Obviously, the middlemen had a vested interest that set them against cooperatives as an institution. The president of the cooperative himself did not seem upset about its semi-dormant status, saying that it took time. "Each works in his own house in his own way." Indeed, there seemed to be little if any "felt need" for this potters' cooperative in Totonicapán.

There is clearly a direct relationship between failure and lack of a true "felt need" for a particular community project. According to one Volunteer (Unruh 1968:3), most examples of failure have one thing in common: the cooperative, committee, or other type of organization that failed was originally stimulated, suggested, or encouraged by an outsider, or else promised "giveaway" assistance in advance. If the committee was set up by the people themselves, on their own initiative, before any source of outside help was known, it usually had a good chance of achieving its goals. The following is a graphic example from that Volunteer's own experience:

> When the old school burned down in 1954, the canton elected a committee to direct the building of a new one. No outside help was ever offered. The school was built within six months. Everyone wanted a school, and everyone helped to build it. In the spring of 1966 the Instituto Indigenista came...to build another school room. In order to receive aid, the people had to elect a committee. Since everyone knew that the Instituto was going to provide all of the money and most of the labor, the committee served little function because there was little work to be done. More

> important yet is that the people did not feel that they needed another school room. However, if they had first had the "felt need" and organized their own committee and then received a little outside help, I have no doubts that the committee would have functioned well since it would have had the full support of the community. No doubt the project would have taken less time to complete, without outside help and we would have judged the committee's work as "well done" (Unruh 1968:4).

## THE FUNCTION OF PAST EXPERIENCE

Their experience with the unsuccessful cooperative may well make the potters of Totonicapán hesitate before coming to any future organizational meeting. The very word "cooperative" could turn them away immediately. After all, most of the original twenty to thirty who signed up reaped no benefits whatever and, in fact, lost their quota investment. Of the nine who hung on, no one was really pleased with the situation; not even Andrés, who had direct access to the machinery (but also the responsibility for it). Past experience can hinder, if not completely obstruct, efforts to form a new cooperative or revitalize an old one, even where some members of the community support the idea. The political history of an area will inevitably influence attitudes toward group organization. As mentioned earlier, Guatemala went through a period of hope for improvement through peasant organization, followed by extreme repression of just such activities--an experience painful enough to "cure" most people for life of any interest in joining any kind of group, even a non-political one. It is essential that the outside innovator prepare himself with knowledge of the area's history from a local as well as national perspective before initiating new projects. He must look into past cooperatives, find out why they were formed and by whom, and why they failed or succeeded. There are numerous examples of cooperatives in which individuals not well-respected by the community have become entrenched. The incoming extensionist could easily make the mistake of the Volunteer mentioned in the introduction, who inadvertently gave his support to a known embezzler.

Organizing a cooperative is still so new a process in Indian communities and built on such shaky foundations that the slightest discrepancy in the books or any kind of financial misunderstanding among the members can cause the cooperative's dissolution. The proper handling of funds is especially critical and is a function that might best be in the hands of some "neutral" person (not, however a Ladino!). Treasurers--novices at their jobs--can and do make mistakes, so the diplomatic guidance and supervision of an outsider is useful and ideally should not be resented.

In addition, the possibilities for outright embezzlement and swindle will always exist. A Volunteer describing co-op problems in Comalapa noted the general desconfianza (lack of confidence) toward cooperatives, partly because the aldea Indians--the "country bumpkins"--had been swindled by the sharper city Indians in the sale of potato seeds from the United Nations (Walsh 1967:4). This, then, was a problem among the Indians themselves. But problems can and do arise from ethnic differences as well. According to one Volunteer, it seemed essential that all the officials of the cooperative, all of whom were Indians, be present to collect dues. When several were out of town (and many Indians are out of town much of the time), nothing was done, even though arrangements had been made beforehand to conduct "business as usual" in their absence. The Volunteer suspected that the remaining officials were reluctant to face the members, of whom a growing number were Ladinos, without the moral backing of the other officials, who were Indians.

## MOMOSTENANGO (I): A CASE OF FAILURE

According to anthropologist Robert M. Carmack, the best-known cooperative organization in Momostenango is notorious for its failure.* It was a collective of weavers who in 1962 began to receive loans from SCICAS. The original plan was to use the money to buy blankets from members at standard prices, even during periods of depressed prices, and sell them at high prices by waiting until the market improved or by finding favorable markets outside the community. Later, an agent from Guatemala City, said to be a "Spaniard," convinced the membership to buy machines to comb, soak, and dry the blankets. He also promised to help find a market for their blankets in Europe and the United States. Enthusiastically, some thirty-eight weavers joined the cooperative.

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*Robert M. Carmack 1970: personal communication.

A large loan was obtained from SCICAS, and several hundred of the finest blankets were turned in to the common pool.

What happened between 1962 and 1965 was disastrous. No machines were acquired. Many of the blankets could not be sold for a long time, and when they were finally disposed of, only the standard price could be obtained. The president of the cooperative did not attend the scheduled meetings and yet refused to turn over the books and the money until all the blankets were sold; SCICAS agents arrived claiming that the group had an unpaid Q4,000. debt, and so on and so forth. By 1966 the cooperative had completely dissolved and the members were unanimously disgruntled. Not only did they not realize profits; their dues were never returned to them. In addition, they suffered the stigma of a large debt without even having access to the books; at last reports, the president was still holding on to them.

Some of the social characteristics of this cooperative are as follows: all of the socios were Indians from close to the town center, while the agents from Guatemala City were, of course, Ladinos. All the members were weavers, who were accustomed to selling their products in the local market. There were no merchants or small-scale entrepreneurs in the membership, who would have understood that price fluctuations are caused by supply and demand and who might even have known something about international trade. In religious affiliation, the group was almost evenly split between Catholics and Protestants; only two or three adhered to traditional Christo-pagan Indian beliefs. The three important officers of the cooperative--president, secretary and treasurer--were from the same "family," a well-known clan of "civilized Indians"; that is, Indians who had become ladinoized.

Besides the social factors enumerated above, there are other facts to be considered if one is to understand the cooperative's failures. For example, the _socios_ indicated that they had received few instructions from the cooperative agents from Guatemala City and that less than half the members participated in the course given on cooperatives that was offered. It is also noteworthy that even though the municipality offered its official collaboration (for example, a room belonging to the municipality was offered to the cooperative for its use), many of the villagers were opposed to the group's activities. Especially hostile were weavers and their laborers, who feared that the machines would take away their jobs and marketing opportunities. There was no violence, however, and eventually it became obvious that the only damage inflicted would be to the socios themselves--which was what finally took place.

## MOMOSTENANGO (II): A CASE OF HOPE

Perhaps in part because of the failure of the weavers' cooperative, today little is heard of cooperatives in Momostenango. Nevertheless, there is a functioning credit and loan cooperative (of whose existence even some officials of the municipality were until recently unaware!). Carmack* described the cooperative, which has about sixty members, as follows:

The members meet once a month in a room temporarily donated for that use by the treasurer. Founded in 1965/66, the organization is overseen by an agent sent by CUNA from Guatemala City; recently the national government granted it official status, or

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*Robert M. Carmack 1970: personal communication.

"legal personality" (personalidad juridica). In observing the socios in session it becomes obvious that they are inexperienced in financial matters, although most have received an instructional course on cooperative procedures. The agent dominates the sessions and behaves rather paternalistically toward the members. There is a real attempt on the part of all to create a spirit of brotherhood, for the theme of their organization is "Not for money but for service." This is expressed in constant references to the need for God's help, addressing each other as "friend" or "compadre," and in the unanimous approval of all matters put to a vote. On the other hand, the leaders are having difficulties getting the socios to save their money, and as a result the meetings are marked by all kinds of encouragement, cajolery, and pleading.

The social composition of the group is as follows: All are Indians, although it is claimed that Ladinos are welcome as members. All but two socios are "progressive Catholics"; i.e., members of Catholic Action. In fact, the organization was started with the encouragement of the local priest, who took several members of Catholic Action to

Totonicapán in order to expose them to the concept of cooperatives (there are several cooperatives in that community in addition to that of the potters). The president, who is the most dynamic member of the cooperative, is also a past president of the local branch of Catholic Action. All socios are either merchants or artisans (forty weavers, ten merchants, six tailors, and three bakers). They are closely tied to each other through friendship, kinship, or compadrazgo (godparenthood). All are either from the town center or hamlets and wards close to the center.

In 1969 it was still too early to determine whether or not this savings and loan cooperative was going to be successful. It is clear that there is considerable skepticism about it on the part of many of the villagers, and so far even the socios have been extremely cautious about investing their funds in it. Further, in spite of generalized training for all the members, they remain unsure of themselves and have become overly dependent upon the Ladino agent (Erasmus' "encogido syndrome"). He in turn has somewhat arbitrarily given them permission to begin making loans, even before they have reached the capital savings usually required before loans can be taken out. That policy may stimulate further growth, but it could also cause a total collapse of the organization if large loans are made and are not paid back.

## SOME SUGGESTIONS FOR IMPROVEMENT

One could go on indefinitely discussing examples of successes or failures with cooperatives. What suggestions can be made to improve the record of the agent of change working with cooperatives?

One thing must be clear: the impersonal, highly organized form of cooperative known in much of the modern world, with all its sophisticated legal mechanisms, simply cannot be transplanted to the traditional or even transitional highland Indian community. A certain amount--if not a great deal--of modification must take place. Even though cooperatives may be desirable economically, the necessary propitious socio-political atmosphere is usually nonexistent. The traditions and common-sense logic of the people are different. The organizational skills have yet to be developed.

Nevertheless, there is no doubt that cooperatives can be of value in certain areas. The problem is to determine the types of cooperatives that might be best suited to Indian groups. Erasmus (1968a) finds that cooperatives that have succeeded in "underdeveloped" areas are those that closely approximate a natural form of cooperation; that is, spontaneous small-group action operating on a face-to-face system. In Venezuela, for example, such groups

> could bring pressure on deviates to maintain a uniform level of participation, and any recalcitrant who posed a permanent threat to the survival of the cooperative was expelled. These "spontaneous" cooperatives were like "natural" exchange labor groups, a resemblance some members noted themselves (Erasmus 1968a:69).

The need in rural areas, especially in labor-oriented cooperatives, is for social exchange, and when these groups become large and impersonal, they fail. Erasmus (1968b:91) believes that service-oriented cooperatives would prove much more satisfactory for developing areas. And, indeed, credit cooperatives seem to be the most immediately useful type in the Guatemalan highlands. As noted earlier, it is extremely difficult for small farmers to obtain credit. Given their individualistic economic orientation, there is both interest in and need for credit, even if the proceeds are used up in a community ritual within the cargo system. On the other hand, there are also some serious problems, especially about repayment. Largely because of previous giveaway aid programs, some people may have the idea that loans from the credit cooperative or the bank are gifts which need not be repaid. Legal sanctions are often ineffective. If money is loaned on a personal level (through a co-op, for example), personal sanctions applied by group members can bring better results. This, of course, requires proper group orientation. Both the extension and administration of credit and repayment of loans are supposedly supervised by such agencies as SCICAS, but in practice the supervision has left much to be desired. Peace Corps Volunteers assigned to work with the Banco Nacional Agrario and other credit institutions have expressed fear that they might come to be regarded by the farmers as collection agents; in fact, they might actually become just that in the absence of trained national personnel capable of bridging the cultural gap between Ladino and Indian.

As for agricultural cooperatives, the tradition of a man working his own plot of land (even if it is communally owned) makes any desire or enthusiasm for labor-oriented cooperatives improbable. On the other hand, cooperatives should meet with much less resistance if their primary function is to supply members with credit for fertilizers or seed for their own individual plots. Labor-oriented cooperatives might, however, take hold more easily among craftsmen than among farmers. In fact, craftsmen have been more prone to organize themselves, although their organizations are usually not cooperatives in the true sense (de la Fuente 1964:181).

One needs to guard against the natural tendency to overvalue cooperatives as a cure-all (or "perfect instrument") because they have worked well in the United States and elsewhere. One must learn to question one's economic orientation and values in the exotic light of the Guatemalan highlands. Clearly it is as essential to guard against ethnocentrism in economic theory as it is in considering agricultural practices or beliefs about sickness and health. Tremendous expenditures for fireworks and alcohol are not "wasteful" in the eyes of the participants. They are investments in prestige. Donating labor to a friend is a type of credit on which one can draw at a later date. A fat hog or some extra maize in the *troje* (storage bin) is like savings in the bank. In examining the socio-economic world of the Guatemalan Indian the innovator must continually remind himself to look for the social aspects of actions. The forms and functions of savings and credit, and of cooperation, are not universal but *are relative to the cultural setting*. Only in that setting do they become comprehensible.

There is no doubt that cooperation exists among the Indians. But cooperation does not necessarily lead to cooperatives. And even cooperation can become an ideology difficult to shake. The professional promoter of cooperation must beware lest he become a missionary proselytizing for a cause that values cooperation for its own sake. He may become so involved with his conception of "mutual aid," "mutual respect," and "democracy" (Erasmus 1968a:68) that he fails to see that these already exist in their own way and what is needed more than leadership training and "democratic skills" is knowledge of where and how outside help (such as credit) can be obtained to satisfy an already recognized (or "felt") need.

The real art is to be flexible enough to realize that a modified version of a cooperative--a group of people working individually but selling under one roof, for example--may be better suited to the community than a formal institution on the North American model. The potential agent of change must also be able to realize when no organization at all is the best solution, without regarding it as a "failure."

That in itself is a major problem, not only for North Americans but also for national development workers who come out of an urban culture imbued with middle class values. "Success" and "failure" do not mean the same thing under all conditions. Some words of advice to new Volunteers in a recent Peace Corps project description for rural credit cooperative education in Guatemala are equally valid for anyone active in rural development:

> The Volunteer may also feel great frustration if he sticks to his American concepts of success and failure. He may be faced with near "failure" as Americans tend to define it, and his "successes," again in American terms, may seem few and unspectacular. Thus,

people who have assured him the will to do what he has urged will "fail" him; people who claim complete understanding of his ideas and complete agreement will subsequently demonstrate no such thing; projects will be delayed because people don't show up for pre-arranged meetings; many brilliant opportunities will be missed due to inefficiency, lack of knowledge or ability, misunderstandings or what sometimes appears to be pure cussedness. It will be as hard for the Volunteer to find successes in American terms as it will be easy to find failures. But if the Volunteer is able to change his perspective, he will survive frustrations of this type and will be able to identify the true successes. He will come to accept the fact that the type of "failure" outlined is no such thing, neither on his part nor on the part of the coop members; it is a normal part of life in a society with a different tempo, different ideas of efficiency and different educational levels. And he will see major success in the gradual increase in ability and knowledge of the coop leaders and in the less tangible but no less important change in their attitudes and willingness to risk, experiment and learn.

Even among the brighter, more educated or more experienced leaders, he will often be dismayed by what will appear to him to be

> petty rivalries and jealousies upsetting his or the coop's plans. The Volunteer, in such instances, must continually remind himself that he is only a transient, *that the people lived together long before he came and will continue to do so long after he is gone* (italics added). If he retains the proper perspective, he will find that in the overwhelming majority of cases he is dealing with people of good will earnestly attempting to solve their problems and frequently willing to make major sacrifices for the common good. His patience and understanding will be well rewarded (Peace Corps Guatemala 1969b:9).

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# CHAPTER 4

## Medical Innovation in Highland Guatemala (I): The Role of the Shaman

The French anthropologist Claude Lévi-Strauss once observed that in the accelerated process of tribal disintegration in South America, Indian societies with well-developed, functioning shamanism consistently exhibit a lower rate of individual psychic disorders than those where shamanism has become weak or disappeared altogether. The point is an important one for medical workers in Indian communities.

North Americans and members of the dominant non-Indian society, especially those engaged in public health and medicine, tend to be intolerant of native concepts of illness and the activities of Indian shamans and curers. The non-Indians see the indigenous practitioner as a barrier against beneficial change, his methods as ineffectual or even fraudulent, and the neutralization or elimination of his influence as principal and necessary goals on the road to progress in community health. Little attempt is made to differentiate between various kinds of supernatural and empirical practitioners, to ascertain the degree of their empirical knowledge, or to assess their role and function in the community. Most commonly, they are labeled witch doctors, a term that reveals less about the nature of their activities than about the level of cultural sensitivity of those who use it. Even when there is no active attempt at suppression, adherents of the scientific world view fondly believe that once people become familiar with Western medicine they will quickly forget "all that supernatural nonsense" and turn their backs on the indigenous healer. Not so. Even if it were true, there is reason to doubt seriously whether it would be a good thing.

This is not to suggest that antibiotics and skilled surgery are not more effective in combating clinical symptoms of pathology than the characteristic shamanic curing techniques of blowing and sucking the affected part, burning candles and incense, praying and chanting to invoke the assistance of supernaturals, and so forth. Faith in the efficacy of traditional cures is often rewarded, but it can also cause needless death, especially when an epidemic strikes a community. In her study of the survival of Maya religious ritual in Todos Santos Cuchumatán in northwestern Guatemala, Maud Oakes gives the following example:

> All went well for me until November, exactly one year after I had come to Todos Santos. An epidemic of measles struck the pueblo, and the children died like flies, *mainly because the Indians put their sick children in the sweat-baths, and most of them caught pneumonia when they came out* (italics added). On top of this epidemic came whooping cough and a few cases of typhoid. None of my neighbors' children died, for I was able to arrest the illnesses in time. But I could do little for those who were more than half dead before I was called in. By December, the deaths averaged five a day, and I had so many patients that I was kept busy from seven in the morning to seven at night. I sent to the departmental Bureau of Sanitation in Huehuetenango for help, but none came; they had too much sickness there themselves. Yet I was able to carry on, thanks to my friends Julio and Maria Matheu, who kept me supplied with medicine from their clinic in Chichicastenango.
>
> The *rezadores* and the Chimán Nam* went to the *cerros* to pray

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*Calendar Priest. At the time of Miss Oakes's stay in Todos Santos, the *Chimán Nam* was Macario Bautista, who was also called *El Rey*,

> and sacrifice turkeys. They performed daily costumbre to stop the epidemic, all to no effect (Oakes 1951: 83-84).

Here, again, one can place the ultimate blame on the sixteenth-century European civilizers. As in so many areas of the New World where whole Indian populations were (and still are) wiped out by disease, the original affliction to hit the Todos Santos youngsters--measles--came in with the conquistadores. Like whooping cough, malaria, smallpox, and other mass killers of Indians over nearly five centuries, measles was unknown in the New World before the fateful voyage of Columbus in 1492. When such epidemics strike, they are often blamed on witchcraft. In Todos Santos, Maud Oakes was accused of being the guilty witch, but eventually the accusation was traced to a jealous shaman, himself under suspicion of witchcraft. Miss Oakes was finally and completely cleared of all suspicion when two boys reported that they met two malevolent and malodorous spirits who

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the King, by the people. He was the unofficial head of the entire pueblo and had final word in all matters, religious and civil. This office seems to have its origin in that of the High Priest who was both civil and religious ruler of the great Maya ceremonia centers of Classic times.

appeared as Ladino men and whom they overheard discussing how many Indian children and adults they would carry away by means of a pestilence.

Many native curers have learned to differentiate between truly aboriginal, pre-European illnesses, for which they have empirical and magical cures, and so-called "Spanish" diseases, which require "Spanish"--i.e., Western--medicines. Where Western medicines are available to the Indians, they usually combine them with native herbs and magical treatment, rather than replacing the old system altogether. For example, some contemporary shamans among the Huichols, an Indian population of the western Sierra Madre in Mexico, have been known to prescribe treatment by trained medical personnel and drugstore remedies for patients they diagnosed as suffering from one or another "Spanish illness." The rationale is that the traditional chants and herbs work well only for truly "Huichol" diseases, whereas those of the foreigners must be treated with foreign medicines. But to work effectively, the foreign remedies must be "made powerful" by the shaman's magical actions. And the shaman's chants and other traditional techniques are still required for total recovery, because the

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ultimate cause of illness is ascribed to the malevolence of sorcerers or the ill will of ancestral spirits angered by some ceremonial lapse. Unlike the actual disease and its symptoms, supernatural agents of illness--as real to the Indian as germs to us--obviously are not susceptible to antibiotics. To vanquish them requires what can be most readily understood as a "primitive" but particularly effective form of psychotherapy.

The medical worker who encounters one of these sophisticated shamans is lucky. The shaman's readiness to accept the efficacy of miracle drugs for the symptoms of the disease--if not for what he and his patient believe to be the cause--can help the medical worker to introduce, gradually, the clinical benefits of Western medicine. It is important to stress clinical, because shamanic practice extends so far beyond the clinical. Clyde Woods's case study of curing in the Cakchiquel Maya pueblo of San Lucas Tolimán (chapter 5) is an excellent illustration of concepts of disease and the relationship--conflict, usually--between traditional and Western methods of curing. San Lucas Tolimán is a transitional community on Lake Atitlán; shamanism is still of great importance there. In 1966, there were no less than thirteen shamans practicing in the community, according to Woods. Many people were also using non-local shamans from other pueblos: Tecpan Guatemala, Chichicastenango, Santiago Atitlán, and so forth. The community's confidence in the shaman's curing powers is revealed also by Woods's observation that Luceños willingly pay the equivalent of a week's wages (approximately $2.50 a week) for the shaman's costumbres, including liquor and other essential materials. But they complain bitterly about the cost of the medical doctor, who may charge fifty cents for examination and medication together. People are also suspicious of the professional medical man because he makes his living from other people's sickness, whereas the shaman is not a full-time specialist; like everyone else, he relies primarily on subsistence milpa farming for his livelihood. Woods calls these attitudes "a tribute to the tenacity of traditional culture" in a transitional community undergoing modernization.

No doubt an important reason shamans continue to command respect and loyalty even where there is rapid westernization is that their vocation, training, and practice fit perfectly into the historical experience and ideological universe of the community, whereas the medical doctor's background is as foreign as his ways. No one knows or can understand how the doctor was chosen or how he selected his calling. He spends a minimum of time on personal gossip during office or home visits, and even when he is reassuring and sympathetic to the plight of the patient and his family, he seems personally uninvolved. The shaman, in contrast, is totally immersed. Everyone in the community knows that shamans undergo long and arduous apprenticeships under old shamans from whom they have learned all the complex rituals, remedies, herbs, and other magical and empirical elements of their calling. Often those who are destined to become shamans fall seriously ill or experience a dramatic encounter with the spirit world, which commands them to become priests and curers and serve the people. Certainly shamanism on whatever level involves enormous emotional and physical stress. As Woods noted in San Lucas and other ethnographers have reported from many other areas, a summons from the spirit world is especially hard because it obligates a man beyond question. If he persists in resisting the call, he knows he is condemned by God and the ancestors to a life of misery and poverty. In San Lucas and elsewhere, the destiny of shamans is frequently determined from birth; a shaman so destined is considered to be less powerful than one called by supernatural means, and he is also more prone to commit witchcraft. This is personally dangerous, because witches may be killed if their anti-social activities are felt to be detrimental to the community. As for personal involvement, there are vivid eyewitness accounts from the arctic of shamans engaged in such fierce and realistic trance battles against unseen disease demons that blood spurts from nose and mouth. South American shamans frequently waste away visibly, both physically and psychically, as they struggle for days against the malevolent forces threatening the life of the patient (and through him the survival of the entire group). That is another point to keep in mind: in shamanic curing, group participation is almost everywhere considered essential for the well-being of the individual, whereas Western medicine stresses privacy in a well-scrubbed and sterilized environment. Curing rituals by Maya shamans may not be quite so dramatic as some in the arctic or South America, but the shaman's intense emotional involvement in the fate of his patient and his family cannot be doubted.

Disregarding certain troubling questions about the ultimate morality of cutting down the death rate and thereby disturbing the delicate balance between population size and scarce resources without simultaneously ensuring lasting socio-economic improvements, most of us would agree that health is good and illness bad, and that needless death due to a controllable disease is a tragedy. The point that must be made, however, is that alleviation of clinical symptoms, although important, is only half the story. The shaman's role goes far beyond it, and the sooner his role is understood, the greater the chance that serious psychic dislocations can be avoided as health is improved. But it cannot be understood except in terms of the Indian's view of himself in relation to the natural and supernatural environment. His concept of illnesses, their causes, and their cures are all part of that system.

The components of the system and their specific interrelationships may differ, slightly or greatly, from village to village and region to region. One basic element remains constant, however: illness is due primarily to supernatural forces, or, more accurately, illness always has a supernatural component. In many cases, it is caused by the interaction of factors within the body and external forces of supernatural origin. From this it follows that diagnosis of illness and its causes must likewise be primarily supernatural. Similarly, the treatment the shaman administers is determined in his interaction with the supernatural forces, to which he alone has access. The actual cure may include both ritual means and empirical ones, such as medicinal herbs, a surprising number of which are quite effective. There are also remedial prescriptions such as rest, reduced work load, blood fortifiers, special foods, and so forth. Even pharmaceutical preparations are used by many shamans, both in costumbres and in the actual curing. Woods's discussion of the interrelationship between world view and Indian theories of the cause of disease (chapter 5) demonstrates how the system works in practice.

It should be mentioned that rural Ladino beliefs and practices often overlap with those of the Indians. This is not surprising since neither is "pure"; rather, they are integrated blends. "Traditional culture" as a whole is a blend of ancient

Maya beliefs and others derived from post-conquest European sources, just as many of the costumbres of the contemporary Maya shaman or supernatural practitioner are not "pure Maya" but combine Spanish-Catholic with pre-conquest Indian elements.

Regardless of this syncretism, if a practitioner is a true shaman, not a lay herbalist or low-level curandero, he is not only a diviner and curer of illness but also the intermediary between man and the supernatural world. Only he is capable of effectively combating the malevolent spirits and witches that cause misfortune, sickness, and death; only he is able to intervene directly with the saints and ancestors and other supernaturals on behalf of man. Only he, in person or by proxy through his naqual and spirit helpers, can travel to that mysterious Otherworld (where ordinary people go only when they die) and bring back knowledge. As a matter of fact, not all shamans deal with the sick. Some function only at a higher level, as supernatural guardians. The Tzeltals of Pinola, Chiapas, for example, differentiate between the Me'iltatil, the supernatural guardian, and the Poshtawenah or H'uhul, the curer (Hermitte 1964). The Me'iltatil is always an old man, since age is a prerequisite for high supernatural status. The oldest Me'iltatils do not cure; in fact, they regard curing as proper only for persons of lower status with the supernatural. Instead, their work includes the supernatural protection of the people and the community, and punishment of those who deviate from social and cultural norms by using witchcraft to inflict disease on them. Another important function of the Me'iltatil is guarding the spirits of children and ordinary people against attack from witches. As Hermitte points out, the curer is a guardian of the individual and the group:

> As a mediator between the sufferer and the sanctioning leaders, he has great importance and is thought to be a member of the supernatural government, even though he may be subordinate to an older and more prestigeful Me'iltatil...Soon after his initiation, his membership in the supernatural elite, and the coalition with other powerful spirits, make him immune to attack, but he is unable to guard others. Later on, his power will augment, and he will be able to protect his nearest of kin. Finally, his protection will extend to those who live in his own residential section (Hermitte 1964:197).

Hermitte says that the curer's role is

more dangerous than that of any other leading supernatural practitioner. If he cures someone made ill by the supernatural council because of some transgression, he risks being punished himself by the supernaturals. His divination of the identity of a witch could make him the target of witchcraft, and his efforts to recover a spirit captured by malevolent forces could cause his own spirit to be caught to replace the one he liberated. He is also under suspicion of using his nahuals to do harm (Ibid., pp.206-7).

Although the Me'iltatil and the Poshtawenah or H'uhul have the capacity to cast evil as punishment for transgression, there is a third category that by definition inflicts harm: the 'Ak'chamel, or witch. It is important to avoid confusing these roles, and the use of inappropriate terms like "witch doctor" carries precisely that danger. Hermitte makes the distinction clear:

> At the ideological level, he who guards men and places is qualified to punish transgressions by witchcraft; he who cures has to counterattack evil with the strength of his own ch'ulel and nahuals which will conquer those of the witch (p. 195).

Many other examples could be given, but it should be clear by now that whatever the local ideological system or terminology, shamans are far more than simply healers of physical ills by supernatural and empirical means. They are the guardians of the psychic, and, in terms of social control, of social equilibrium. As such, they operate on a level far removed from that of the practitioner of modern medicine. The shaman's complex role includes elements of priest, family physician, psychiatrist, community leader, and a good deal more. Obviously, then, he can be *displaced* by the medical doctor, but never *replaced*.

There is little doubt that the introduction of Western scientific medicine, with its miracle drugs that cure where the supernatural guardian is powerless, can challenge and undermine the prestige of the shaman as diagnostician as well as curer. If his status as curer is weakened, other areas of his multi-faceted role in the community are affected. Once doubt is cast on his omnipotence in divining and in counteracting supernaturally-caused illnesses, what is to prevent the erosion of faith in his ability to interact with the ancestors and other spirits and eventually of belief in their existence? The effects on the stability of the traditional culture are predictable.

This is not meant to discourage health improvement schemes. Like everything in these pages, it is meant to alert and sensitize the agent of change to the potential side effects of a worthy effort. Just as it makes little sense to preserve the lives of infants so that they may starve to death later as a result of increased population pressure on a depleted environment, in modern health programming it is inconsistent to improve physical health while generating psychic dislocations in the community where the patients must live. How completely this can be avoided and how much the transition from one system to another can be eased depends on how thoroughly the agent of change can free himself of ethnocentric attitudes toward the relative value of the traditional system and his own.

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# CHAPTER 5

## Medical Innovation in Highland Guatemala (II):

## The Case of San Lucas Tolimán

Clyde M. Woods

The research upon which this report is based was conducted during 1965-66 in San Lucas Tolimán*, the cabecera (head town) of one of the thirteen municipios (Guatemalan administrative units) that surround Lake Atitlán in the southwestern highlands of Guatemala. The population consists of 3,214 people who consider themselves Indians (81 percent) and 761 people who consider themselves Ladinos (19 percent). This bi-ethnic distinction implies one population of Spanish-European ancestry (Ladinos) and another whose forebears in the New World predate the Spanish conquest (Indians), but considerable interbreeding has occurred and the contemporary distinction is based less on biological than sociocultural factors. Generally speaking, Ladinos speak Spanish, wear Western-style dress, practice nominal Catholicism, tend towards non-agricultural occupations, are better educated, and maintain better housing, sanitation facilities, diet, and health than their Indian subordinates. Conversely, Indians retain their native dialect, costume, and world view, engage primarily in subsistence agriculture (maize, beans, and squash), and maintain community social and religious activities through service in a series of rotating offices (cargos) in the civil-religious hierarchy.

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In San Lucas, however, the dynamic environment of change tends to blur many of the sociocultural distinctions. The process of transculturation, sluggish in the past, has been more rapid in recent years.* The quickened pace can be traced in part to increased Ladino intrusion but more directly to an acceleration of modernizing influences such as increased communication with the outside world, occupational specialization, religious proselytizing, and various educational, economic, and medical aid programs (Woods 1968).

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*In transculturation, traits are lost from the Indian tradition (deindianization) and acquired from the Ladino tradition (ladinization).

In discussing the process of change as it occurs in Guatemalan Indian communities, Richard Adams has suggested a continuum in which several transitional types, or stages, arise as transculturation progresses. Moving from the most to the least Indian communities, the types are delineated as: (1) the Traditional Indian Community; (2) the Modified Indian Community; and (3) the Ladinoized Indian Community. At the final point of the continuum, all Indian traits have been lost, and the Indians enter the Ladino category. Seen in terms of this scheme, San Lucas Tolimán closely approximates the Modified Indian Community, where, according to Adams, a number of Indian traits become weakened or lost, and there is a crystallization of "Indianism" around another group of traits. The traits lost or weakened in a Modified Indian Community include:

> ...the political-religious organization and the distinctive dress of the men...all the men and many of the women become bilingual, but the Indian language is still retained as the mother tongue...

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> women generally retain distinctive clothing, although it may not always be possible to identify one's village by the nature of the costume...the use of the temascal often disappears, the Maya calendar is usually no longer functional, and the curers and diviners find considerable competition from Ladino spiritualists and other lay curers (Adams 1957:271).

The Modified Indians, however, still retain many traits that clearly set them apart as Indians:

> ...the women's distinctive costume, the leadership of men in religious activities...the cooking still done between three stones on the floor...the men still use the tumpline for carrying goods, and the community still retains its integrity as an Indian community. The people still manifest resistance to one of their members becoming a Ladino through the adoption of Ladino customs (Ibid., p.272).

A brief summary of relevant ethnographic materials will show specifically how San Lucas approximates the Modified Indian category; it will also place the community in appropriate transitional perspective for the discussion that follows.

The civil-religious hierarchy--the hallmark of traditional Indianism--is clearly on its last legs in San Lucas. Its political functions have been totally usurped by the local and national Ladino power structure, and its role in the religious life of the community is being effectively threatened by various subsidiary service groups and the several competing religions, including "official Catholicism" as embodied in Catholic Action. Although religion is still primarily in the hands of men, women are becoming increasingly active as they participate in the instruction and activities of both Catholic and Protestant groups.

Although Cakchiquel remains the mother tongue for both sexes, 89 percent of the men and 65 percent of the women who are fourteen years old or older can converse in a rudimentary form of Spanish. And many of the Indian males are fluent in Spanish. Eighty-four percent of the males have discarded their short pants for Ladino-style dress, and women tend towards the factory-made generalized Indian costume found in many other Indian pueblos throughout the republic. A high percentage of the women in Panajachel, across the lake, have also adopted the costume, and it is difficult to distinguish them from Luceño females on the basis of dress alone.

The temascal (sweat bath) is certainly not an uncommon sight in San Lucas, but informants verify a decline in its use for both bathing and curing practices. The majority of Indian residence plots lack a temascal, and the state of disrepair that typifies many of those still standing is further testimony to the decrease in their popularity. The writer could find no clear indications of the survival of the Maya-Quiché calendar, although the preference for childbirth during certain months, the belief in specific "dangerous" days and hours, and the use of certain combinations of numbers in divining by shamans may hark back to that system of beliefs. Like the Ladinos, however, the Indians do subscribe to a system of activity-regulating beliefs about the various phases of the moon.

Ninety-six percent of all Indian households retain the traditional three hearth stones on the floor for the preparation of food. The tumpline is widely used for carrying, and it is not uncommon to see a lower-class Ladino utilizing it to transport heavy loads from the fields. Where the terrain permits, however, the Ladinos are more likely to use a crudely-fashioned wheelbarrow.

Traditional curers are meeting considerable competition from other medical resources available to the community, and their services are increasingly relegated to those areas of belief and practice where "scientific" medicine has no entry (this will be further discussed below). A list of thirty-six native practitioners that was supplied by elder informants for the year 1940 has decreased to thirteen in 1966; none of the thirteen practice their traditional role on a full-time basis. Ladino pharmacists, spiritualists, empiricists, practical nurses, and university-trained doctors offer alternative medical services to both Indians and Ladinos.

There are other indications of a decreasing adherence to traditional Indian patterns as well. Residence patterns are changing. The tendency is away from generation-extended households grouped into family compounds and toward nuclear units residing in separate residence plots. Courting is more open than in the past and the _robo_ (elopement) form of contracting a marriage alliance presents an alternative to the traditional _pedido_ (contract). Marriage alliances with official civil and religious sanction are more common than in the past. The data also indicate an increase in Indian school attendance (Guatemalan law makes two years of grade school attendance compulsory for all school age children, regardless of ethnic identity). Education is an underdeveloped but potentially effective instrument in the transitional process and promises to play a significant role. Middle-class Ladino teachers cannot help but transmit the Ladino cultural tradition in the classroom.

In the midst of these ongoing processes of change, the Indians in San Lucas retain their integrity as an Indian community. They are set apart from their Ladino neighbors by a body of custom and belief, albeit in attenuated form, and by their own self-identification. And they are not only Indians but Luceños;* they consider themselves to be distinct from Atitecos (Indians from Santiago Atitlán), Pedranos (Indians from San Pedro la Laguna), Maxeños (Indians from Chichicastenango), and all other Indian groups. Informants note that for whatever reason--economic opportunity, marriage, or the like--it is still considered a drastic step for an Indian to sever his ties with the community. Community endogamy is the rule, and marriage to Ladinos remains a rare occurrence.

Resistance to transculturation on the part of the receiving culture (in this case the Indians) is more a matter of unperceived possibilities than manifest determinism. The idea that Indians and Ladinos are different is accepted by both groups as part of the natural scheme of things, and neither consciously considers that the eventual assimilation of the Indian population is inevitable. Those more conservative-minded Indians who are consciously attempting to preserve the traditional Indian way are seemingly unaware that they stand to gain, as well as lose, cultural alternatives. The Indian who adopts expensive Ladino dress and tries to "act like a Ladino" is regarded by his peers (and by the Ladinos) as one who is "showing off"; one who is trying to prove that he is better than other Indians; one who is portraying something that he is not. Those few who have accumulated wealth and adopted some of the material benefits of Ladino culture are seen as somehow abnormal and are accused of obtaining their position through devious means. One wealthy Indian, who has adopted Ladino dress, occupation, and housing, is popularly reported to have acquired his money by selling long pants to traditionally-dressed Luceños during the regime of Ubico (1931-1944) after paying the president a mordida (bribe) to outlaw the wearing of short pants in San Lucas.

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*In the remainder of this paper, Luceño will refer only to the Indian population of San Lucas.

The donor (Ladino) culture is also responsible for perpetuating effective barriers to Indian transculturation, although these are subtle and largely unconscious on the part of the Ladinos. With the Indians, they propagate the myth of Ladino superiority and separateness and accept their superordinate role in the local political, occupational, and economic structure as part and parcel of the natural order. In the writer's opinion, however, it is the Indian's increasing economic dependence on the Ladino that is the major impediment to Indian transculturation and eventual participation in the Ladino tradition. The Indian is lacking in financial resources, and, more importantly, in the land needed to get them. Further, the standard fifty-cent daily wage is barely adequate to maintain an average-sized family at a very low subsistence level, with no allowance for occasional crises. This places the Indian in a curious bind. Saddled with what Sol Tax has labeled a "primitive world view" (Tax 1941), lacking educational preparation, and beset with economic difficulties, the Indian has little opportunity to graduate to a more favorable niche. Rather, the average San

Lucas Indian in 1966 occupied a marginal position between the present Ladino-dominated society and the crumbling remnants of a traditional way of life. Unfortunately, it seems that he derives few rewards from either.

The research in San Lucas, described below, focused on the process of medical innovation. More specifically, it was an attempt to locate, describe, and explain changes in medical practice and belief initiated by the interaction of three competing systems of medicine: folk Ladino, folk Indian, and modern. Modern medicine, a relatively recent import, encompasses a system of beliefs and practices from the tradition of Western, scientific medicine, whereas folk Indian medicine takes its principles from traditional Indian culture. Folk Ladino medicine derives primarily from the Ladino tradition but has been influenced somewhat by both folk Indian and modern and represents something of a middle ground. Each of the various kinds of medical practitioners in San Lucas can be placed in the appropriate category according to the nature of the beliefs and practices each brings to the curing situation. The kind of remedy used is another important factor, although considerable "borrowing" occurs across categories. Pharmaceutical preparations, for example, along with a request for supernatural aid, are important elements in many curing situations.

The proponents of modern medicine in San Lucas include three doctors, two registered nurses, and several practical nurses. One of the doctors, a Guatemalan national, is resident in San Lucas and has been the community's major contact with the tradition of Western medicine. He schedules consultations two days each week and is usually available for emergency calls at night. The other two doctors, one a Guatemalan national and the other a papal volunteer from Holland, make irregular visits to a public health clinic and a Catholic parish dispensary, respectively. In their absence, the clinic is operated by a Guatemalan registered nurse and the dispensary by nuns from the United States. Several practical nurses resident in the community, who have received the bulk of their training under the auspices of formally trained medical personnel, provide additional medical resources in this category.

Folk Ladino medicine is represented in San Lucas by two pharmacists, two spiritualists, and several empiricists. All claim some knowledge of Western medicine, although none have had formal training in its principles. Within this category, the pharmacists are far and away the most important and most frequently used resources. In addition to selling medicine across the counter, they make house calls and prescribe treatment for ailments that they diagnose on the basis of verbal or visual symptoms. The injection is foremost in their repertory of treatment. Neither of San Lucas's spiritualists is considered to be particularly effective, and they are sought more for their reputed knowledge of herbal and patent remedies than for their ability to communicate with the spirit world. Ladinos and Indians who desire the latter form of aid will seek the services of a more reputable, non-local spiritualist. The empiricists include a number of local Ladinos who specialize in curing specific ailments, claim uncommon knowledge of remedies and magic potions, and have some facility with the hypodermic needle.

Shamans, midwives, and a number of lay (or occasional) curers comprise the practitioners of folk Indian medicine. All are Indians and adhere primarily to the principles of curing inherited from traditional Indian culture. ("Traditional" is not meant to represent pre-conquest Mayan culture but rather the configuration that developed through the fusion of Spanish and Mayan elements following the conquest and prior to the introduction of Ladino dominance at the local level.) The thirteen practicing shamans (several were also considered witches) resident in San Lucas during the research period conduct their traditional divination and curing ceremonies in private homes, the *cofradías* (religious fraternities), the Catholic Church, hillside caves, and other special locations in the countryside. Non-local shamans, who either journey to San Lucas or are visited by Luceños in their own localities, are also used. Since most Ladinos, progressive Indians, and proponents of modern medicine consider shamanistic practices primitive and their adherents backward, most of this activity is clandestine. Further, the authorities commonly equate shamanism with witchcraft, which is unlawful and is openly prosecuted.

Six Indian midwives deliver the majority of babies in San Lucas, although a few Indians and the more affluent Ladinos resort to a nurse or doctor for this service. Four of the midwives are certified by the Public

Health Service; two are uncertified novices. Midwives are also used as knowledgeable resources in the treatment of illness, particularly where an infant is involved. The Indians have no specific term for lay curers, merely noting that in some cases they seek the services of "uno que sepa" (one who knows). In most cases these are elderly women who, through years of experience, have become familiar with various symptoms, remedies, and treatment procedures. In this sense they are similar to the Ladino empiricists and, in fact, are often called upon to treat the same ailments. Rather than using pharmaceutical preparations, injections, and other pseudo-scientific measures, however, they rely instead on time-proven procedures emanating from the Indian cultural tradition.

The dynamic environment of change in San Lucas, then, includes alternative solutions to medical problems. The Luceño can choose between the practitioners and procedures of three relatively exclusive systems of medicine or adopt a curing strategy that includes elements extracted and combined from all of them.

Data for the analysis of medical behavior in this situation were obtained from a running account to the curing practices of a representative sample of Indian households over a six-month period. At least once each week, each of forty households was visited and members were interviewed regarding (1) symptoms or illnesses contracted; (2) the progress of previously reported symptoms or illnesses; (3) the resources being used to combat these complaints; and (4) the cost, source of reference, and reason for using these resources. Where a major illness episode was in progress, households were visited more frequently, often on a daily basis. The corpus of data that resulted from these procedures was further augmented by periodic interviews with sample household heads, interviews with various curers, records available from local medical agencies, the writer's participant observation in a number of curing episodes, and the informal round of conversation that inevitably accompanies major illness in a small community.

A summary of the major dimensions of sample medical behavior, based on 580 illness episodes, will suffice for purposes of this report. Analysis did not disclose an orderly succession of steps in the curing sequence, whereby the use of a given curing resource and resulting treatment procedure can be predicted by a specific symptom or syndrome. The pattern, if we can talk of patterning at all, is marked by a heterogeneous approach: movement from resource to resource in quest of an effective cure. Where practitioners of modern medicine are incorporated, they serve to supplement rather than replace their folk counterparts.

Generally, all signs of sickness are initially disregarded or treated with minor medical resources.* Several of these remedies may be used concurrently in trying to effect an expedient and inexpensive cure. There is no attempt to get a diagnosis, beyond the practical knowledge of immediate household members. The probability of calling on major medical resources increases if symptoms persist or become more severe. It is almost certain to be done--although it requires greater emotional stability and financial investment--if the illness is an incapacitating one. At this juncture, however, Indian illness behavior is characteristically heterogeneous. The kinds of resources used and the order of their appearance in the curing sequence depend upon a series of interdependent factors. The history of the particular illness episode, past experience, economic considerations, advice from others, and diagnosis are important deciding factors. Shifts from one alternate resource to another in the search for an effective cure are commonplace, even when traditional etiological categories are brought to bear. Modern and folk curers are often used concurrently.

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*As used here, the doctor, pharmacist, shaman, spiritualist, empiricist, and lay curer are regarded as "major" curing resources, while the public health service nurses, the nuns, over-the-counter sales at the pharmacies, and home remedies are regarded as "minor" curing resources. The latter are used primarily for the acquisition of free or in-

In short, alternative curing procedures have not been organized into a coherent and consistent pattern of medical action. The result is a collection of competing and often inconsistent practices extracted from divergent medical traditions.* The selected

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expensive remedies and occasional minor treatment, and patients often have no actual firsthand contact with the resource.

*Medical behavior of a representative sample of Ladino households was also recorded. Analysis of 241 illness episodes gathered from fifteen Ladino households revealed a somewhat different pattern. They exhibited a more highly patterned response to illness. Complaints were less likely to be ignored; hence, the curing sequence was initiated earlier in the illness episode. Practitioners of modern medicine were used more case studies that follow further illustrate the phenomenon.

Case 1. Angela (twenty-one) and Roberto (twenty-six) had already lost three infants and were obviously concerned over the frequent ailments of their only living child, Tomás, who was six months old in January, 1966. He was taken to the resident doctor in early January with severe cold symptoms, and again, in March, the same doctor was consulted when excessive crying suggested stomach trouble. In the latter case, colic was diagnosed and appropriately treated.

In early April, severe cold symptoms reappeared and remedies from previous consultations were used for treatment. On Sunday morning, April 12, his condition worsened. A high temperature had set in, along with excessive crying, and he refused the breast. Roberto went for the resident doctor, who, in short order, diagnosed measles complicated with pneumonia. Tomás' temperature was 105 degrees. The doctor administered a brief alcohol rub to combat temperature and gave a liquid remedy to be used three times daily. In addition, Roberto was given a prescription for the doctor's nurse, who was to furnish daily injections of penicillin. Throughout the doctor's visit, Angela chanted Catholic prayers calling for aid from God, Christ, and the

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frequently and were more often called in as a first-order resource. In addition, Ladino illness episodes were uniformly shorter than those of the Indian sample. For a more detailed comparison of Indian and Ladino behavior, see Woods (1968).

saints. The doctor was unsuccessful in convincing her that less clothing on Tomás would aid in relieving his temperature. He charged three dollars for the house call, and the injections were to cost ten cents daily.

The nurse administered the first injection an hour later. In the afternoon, however, Angela and several relatives who had joined the illness vigil at the house decided that the (evil) eye was the reason for Tomás' serious condition. This was suggested by the child's frequent "backward jerks" and attributed to his maternal grandmother who had "looked" at him several days earlier while menstruating. A Ladina empiricist from across the street verified the diagnosis and proceeded to treat Tomás for the (evil) eye.

This was done behind closed doors. Angela was told that the gaze of bystanders would drive the (evil) eye deeper into Tomás' body. Further, she was not to venture out of the house or open doors and windows, since her breast milk might be chilled, which would contribute to the child's delicate condition. The empiricist later told of using special prayers, along with burning candles and incense. A "secret" remedy of toasted barley, brown sugar, tamarind fruit, powdered cream, sugar cane, and several herbs was prepared and administered (it is probable that the often-noted procedure of an egg broken in a bowl of water containing pitchpine and rue was also used).

The following day, Roberto turned away the nurse when she returned to give the second injection. The doctor's remedies did not produce a "good result" and, in fact, made the child worse. Reportedly, only the empiricist's remedies were used during the succeeding days and, by April 18, Tomás was back to normal. No further recourse to the doctor was made, and an illness that followed in two weeks (loose bowels, cold symptoms, excessive crying) was treated with home remedies and minor preparations from the pharmacy.

An incident that probably affected Roberto's decision occurred at the clinic when he went for the doctor on the morning of April 12. An influential local Ladino keeping vigilance over his mother, who remained in critical condition after six weeks in the clinic (and died two weeks later), told him the doctor was incapable of curing anything. The Ladino went on to say that his own wife could probably cure better than the doctor.

Four days prior to Roberto's use of the doctor, he had searched his mind for the "cause"of Tomás' worsening condition. Recalling a recent heated argument with his father, he went to him and begged his forgiveness. Together they lit candles in front of the household altar and prayed that God would lift his punishment. Roberto reasoned that during his anger he may have spoken an "injustice" or some "bad expression," thereby evoking a punishment from God.

Case 2. María, age four, had cold symptoms (cough and runny nose) at the beginning of the observation period on January 2, 1966. These were largely ignored, although she was given two-cent cold tablets on several occasions. On January 15, her mother, Manuela, said she was better, but on the 24th reported that María, along with four siblings, had contracted whooping cough. María was given several more cold tablets, and, on the advice of a Ladina neighbor, all the children were treated with a home remedy of beef fat and sugar water.

This treatment continued through the first week of February, when the father, Bartolo, purchased whooping cough medicine in liquid form from the pharmacy of Don Chepe for $2.25. By this time, María's condition was obviously serious. She had no desire to eat, and swelling of the face and extremities (probably due to malnutrition) had begun. Don Chepe told Bartolo that this was due to "internal fever." Some whooping cough capsules from a doctor in Sololá were supplied by the anthropologist.

By the end of the second week in February, María's siblings were showing some improvement, but she continued to get worse. The cough medicine was gone, and treatment consisted of the pills, along with small amounts of milk and egg. During the following week, mouth sores and minor skin eruptions contributed to an overall increase in the severity of other symptoms. Bartolo's Ladina employer told him that María had "inflammation" due to the "hot" remedies she had been given. On her advice, a purgative was purchased from Don Chepe for five cents and administered.

On the evening of February 19, a shaman was called in and a costumbre (curing ceremony) with Maximón (explained below) was conducted in cofradía San Lucas. At 6:00 a.m. the following morning, the shaman came to Bartolo's house and rubbed a masticated cigar on her belly. He supplied no other remedies but was to return the next day for another costumbre. Instead, he reportedly got drunk and then went off to the coast on business. Two days later, the nuns from the parish stopped by on one of their regular household visits and left cough syrup, capsules, and Incaparina.

María showed no improvement and was taken to the resident doctor for a fifty-cent consultation on February 25. He diagnosed whooping cough and malnutrition and supplied cough syrup and capsules, along with a prescription for daily injections from Don Chepe at thirty-five cents each. Finally, in the early evening of February 27, on the urging of his wife and her mother, Bartolo called in another shaman who had successfully cured María of loose bowels and vomiting two years earlier. He came to the house, reportedly drunk, and prescribed a bath of warm water with an ounce each of salt and sulphate. María died during this bath. The shaman left, the anthropologist was asked to verify death, and the priest was called in to administer last rites.

Several weeks later, Bartolo attributed the death to witchcraft induced by his elder sister, who was angry with him for squandering part of the family inheritance on alcohol. She was reportedly aided by a local spiritualist who was also displeased with him because of a land transaction. The man-made evil, meant for him,lodged in the weaker, more susceptible body of his daughter instead. Several incidents were taken as proof of witchcraft: (1) a succession of bad dreams by both Manuela and Bartolo; (2) cats fighting in the patio and dogs howling near the house at night; (3) discovery of a hired hand of the spiritualist kneeling and chanting outside the door one morning; and (4) the theft of Manuela's cat by the spiritualist, who kept it for a week and then sent it back, supposedly to aid in witching Bartolo (the spiritualist insisted it was her cat). Further, two events during the wake caused speculation about the presence of evil forces: Manuela had a violent seizure, reportedly her first, which lasted about twenty minutes; and in the early morning hours an extremely nauseous odor filled the room and send all mourners scurrying into the street (probably gas from the corpse).

A tragic occurrence three months later

added further speculation to this configuration of suspicion--but in the opposite direction. An eight-year-old son of the sister whom Bartolo had accused of witching him drowned in the lake, an uncommon accident that is often cited as one due to witchcraft.

Case 3. Rosalina was born with a deformed ankle and walked with a slight but noticeable limp. She was married at sixteen; when she was twenty-one, the eldest of her two children was four. Her husband, Damián, spent two years in the military and, on his return to San Lucas, converted to Protestantism (Baptist). He was regarded by many as belligerent and was not well liked. Rosalina, on the other hand, was noted for her amiable personality and ever-present smile. As a door-to-door sausage vendor, she was well known and liked by Ladino and Indian alike.

The account of Rosalina's illness is extensive and will be presented only in summary form. She was not part of the observation sample. The anthropologist became interested in her case after attending a curing ceremony conducted in her behalf on March 22, 1966. Details of the illness episode prior to this date were put together from interviews with Rosalina and her family, along with the resident doctor and two of the shamans who attended her.

Rosalina had a troublesome third pregnancy and sought aid from various sources, including the pharmacy and the resident doctor. Her first consultation with the doctor was in July, 1965, after four months of pregnancy. Then, on November 2, she returned complaining of stomach cramps, chills, and high temperature. The doctor gave her an injection and other remedies and told her to return the following week if symptoms persisted. According to Rosalina, however, he was on vacation the following week and not available for the designated consultation. With the aid of a midwife, the baby was born on December 5. The infant died eighteen days later, reportedly of loose bowels, vomiting, and fever.

Rosalina remained "gravely ill" throughout December. She had various symptoms, including "attacks" of chills and fever. Approximately one week after the infant's death, Damián took her to consult with the public health service doctor in Panajachel. The doctor could not be located, however, and they proceeded to the departmental hospital in Sololá. Rosalina stayed there about one week and was given a variety of treatments, including two transfusions of blood serum. She complained that Indians were ignored, mistreated, and given ineffective remedies in the hospital, however, and she returned to San Lucas prior to official discharge. She did not go back to her husband's house, even though her two children were there under the care of their paternal grandparents. Instead, she took to bed in the home of her brother, Pedro. Her mother, Paula, moved from the home of another son to look after her. Unfortunately, she, too, took sick in several weeks, and both women were confined to bed, side by side.

Rosalina held that Damián had failed to provide her with appropriate treatment and felt that she would receive better care in the hands of her own family. Damián, however, insisted on her return and refused to relinquish her personal possessions. On several occasions he provoked arguments in Pedro's home. This reportedly contributed to Rosalina's worsening condition. Finally, Pedro and another brother went to the mayor, who ruled that since Damián had failed to adequately provide for his wife (by legal marriage), the brothers could rightfully assume that responsibility. Damián was officially admonished not to cause further disturbances.

As far as her health was concerned, Rosalina remained in bed throughout the first three months of 1966, as did Paula. Overall weakness was the major complaint, although other symptoms, such as headache, dizziness, chills, fever, and nausea made an occasional appearance. Various pharmaceutical preparations were tried, and sometime in February her in-laws acquired the services of a shaman to conduct three *costumbres* with Maximón in *cofradía* San Lucas on her behalf. Rosalina could not get out of bed to attend these services, and reportedly the shaman provided no palatable remedies. On March 2, 1966, she went to the resident doctor again for a third consultation. He diagnosed a minor vaginal infection and prescribed pills plus a series of ten daily penicillin shots. These were discontinued after the third injection on the advice of an older brother who told her penicillin was detrimental to her "bad blood." Further, the shots were painful and Rosalina had difficulty walking to the clinic. The consultation and pills were fifty cents; injections were ten cents each.

Several days after injections were terminated, a shaman was called in; following divination, he called for three *costumbres* with Maximón. The illness was not diagnosed as witchcraft. The first two *costumbres*, at an approximate cost of five dollars each, were held on the 14th and 22nd of March in *cofradía* San Lucas. The shaman also prescribed vitamin and a blood fortifier, which cost $3.30 at the pharmacy. Still, Rosalina showed no improvement. If anything, her condition was worse: she said she was unable to rise from her bed even for short periods of time.

On March 24, the anthropologist discusse her case with the resident doctor, who, for a daily fee of one dollar, agreed to treat her in the clinic if she would stay several days for observation. This proposition was accepted by her family after considerable conversation and minor opposition from Rosalina, who feared a repeat of her unsatisfactory hospital experience. The doctor again diagnosed a minor vaginal infection and resumed treatment, which included daily shots of penicillin. He expressed the opinion that most of her problems were psychological. In the meantime, Rosalina continued her complaints, which included fever headache, earache, cold feet, hot legs, dizziness, and inability to stand. She refused to bathe and would not leave her bed so that the nurses could supply clean bedding.

That same evening Pedro and another of Rosalina's brothers presented the anthropologist with a touchy problem. The doctor told them that Rosalina's husband, not the anthropologist, should be charged for his services and threatened to see the mayor the following day. The brothers wanted no further problems with Damián, however, and begged the doctor not to proceed with legal action. The anthropologist discussed their fears with the doctor and the matter was dropped.

Early on the morning of March 26, Rosalina left the clinic without permission. She claimed that the doctor ignored her, the nurses mistreated her, and the remedies were not effective. Further, she had been plagued with "bad" dreams and was afraid to stay alone in the darkness of her room at night. The doctor was upset by her secret departure and, more important, by her lack of confidence in his ability to heal her ailment. His was a private clinic, he pointed out, and patients were not free to come and go as they pleased. He refused to send his nurse to Rosalina's house to continue the daily injections and pointed out that she was almost cured anyhow. Jokingly, he added the comment that perhaps all she needed now was a shaman.

The last of the three prescribed *costumbres* was held in *cofradía* San Lucas the following evening for another five dollars. Again Rosalina did not attend, but, according to the shaman, she would be required to present herself before Maximón for prayer and confession when her condition improved. Several days later Rosalina complained of "strong fever" from her "back to her head," and the shaman was called to her bedside. He bought two pills at the pharmacy to be given with hot lemonade and told her family an additional *costumbre* was required. At the same time, he prepared an herbal remedy and prescribed "Sloan's Liniment" for Paula, who still shared the sick room with Rosalina. Both women had developed conjunctivitis, which was being treated with a ten-cent tube of terramycin purchased by Pedro at the pharmacy.

Unable to finance another five-dollar *costumbre*, Pedro petitioned the aid of another, less prestigious shaman, who, because he was a relative (Pedro's wife's sister's husband), agreed to continue Rosalina's treatment without charging for his services. The family had only to supply the price of materials. He called for three more sessions with Maximón, which were held on April 13, April 26, and May 7. Rosalina was carried to the first of these but was able to walk to the others. The family expressed considerable satisfaction with the new shaman, since he prepared his own remedies from *aguardiente* (sugar cane rum), fruit juice, and various herbs, rather than prescribing expensive pharmaceutical preparations. Further, Rosalina began to improve, and by the end of the first week in May all complaints ceased.

On the evening of Friday, May 27, she went to her bed "screaming of pain in her heart" and by morning was in a coma. No treatment was attempted. Her family deduced that her *suerte* (luck) was gone, and some felt that she simply had no further desire to live. On Sunday morning a priest was called in to administer last rites. Afterwards, the priest persuaded Pedro to accompany him to the resident doctor's clinic to see if medical aid would help. The doctor told them to bring Rosalina to the clinic for a blood serum transfusion and other treatment. He added that it might be necessary to transport her to the departmental hospital for additional care. Back home, the family decided against this advice. She was going to die anyway, they reasoned, so it was better that she do so in her own house and in her own village. They were especially concerned over the problem and expenses involved in returning the body from Sololá.

The anthropologist learned of Rosalina's condition late Sunday afternoon. When he arrived at the house, furnishings and partitions had been removed in preparation for the wake, and relatives were beginning to gather. Rosalina was lying on her back staring blankly at the ceiling. Her rapid breathing was accompanied by a pronounced throat rattle, and, occasionally, slight convulsions shook her body. Pedro pointed out that her lower extremities were cold and reasoned that the lower half of her body was already dead. They were merely waiting for the other half to follow suit.

The anthropologist was reluctantly given permission to bring the resident doctor to the house, on the condition that Rosalina would not be removed. He diagnosed bronchial pneumonia and, in private, expressed little hope of recovery. The two prescriptions he gave were never filled. Following his examination, the doctor proceeded to reprimand the family for not calling him sooner and for discontinuing his previous treatment. He was not a newcomer to San Lucas, he said, and the people should know that he could cure their illnesses.

Rosalina finally succumbed at about 7:30 the same evening. According to her family, the illness and subsequent death were due to several arguments with Damián earlier in the week. These brought on anger, despondency, "attacks of heart pain," and removed her will to live. Further, she was still weak from the previous illness and had little resistance.

The preceding evidence clearly demonstrates that the implementation of modern medicine in San Lucas has experienced only limited success. Although Western medicines are often incorporated as an integral part of folk curing practices, the Indian population remains reluctant to replace folk practitioners with those trained in the tradition of Western scientific medicine. This reluctance can be traced, in part, to the Indians' perception of the curer's motivation and role and to certain shortcomings in the modern medical programs that have been initiated. More important, however, is an enduring set of traditional beliefs, which maintain a positive relationship between the incidence of illness and infractions of the moral order, a determined belief in the efficacy of supernatural aid as the most important part of any curing process, and the persistence of etiological categories that can be cured only by practitioners of folk medicine. Each of these considerations will be discussed in the pages that follow.

When the Luceño is asked what precipitated a particular illness, he invokes a relatively consistent set of traditional beliefs. Common replies are, "*por mal aire*" ("for evil air"), "*por mala sangre*" ("for bad blood"), "*por envidia*" (" for envy [witchcraft]"), "*por algún descuido*" ("for some carelessness"), or "*saber qué pecados tengo, está castigando Dios*" ("who knows what sins I have, God is punishing"). These statements, and many more, flow from the perceptual apparatus that Luceños employ to account for the incidence of illness in their environment; they are integral features of world view--of man's conception of himself and his perceived relationship to the natural and supernatural forces that pervade his universe. The discussion below outlines those aspects of Luceño world view that have an important bearing on contemporary medical beliefs and practices.

*Deportment and Human Nature*. In San Lucas the idea of proper deportment can be accurately labeled as the way of the Good Man. Luceños themselves use such terms as *buen hombre* (good man), *buena gente* (good people), *gente humilde* (humble people), and *un hombre correcto* (a correct man) to describe this configuration. Ideally, the Good Man should (1) work hard regardless of his position; (2) be content with his station in life and patient in all that he does; (3) provide as best he can for his family; (4) avoid all arguments, especially within the immediate family; (5) have respect for the property and rights of others; (6) be humble and amiable in his interpersonal relations; and (7) above all, believe in and love God and show proper submission and reverence to all the supernatural powers. The Good Man should not (1) use evil words or have evil thoughts; (2) talk against other people; (3) show envy over the good fortune of others; or (4) talk against, annoy, or be belligerent with other people.

The relevance of deportment to the contraction of illness in San Lucas is a frequent topic of conversation. The following quotes, freely translated from Spanish, are illustrative:

> If one walks the streets with God, content, and without evil thoughts ...nothing will happen--illness will not strike.
>
> We are not all equal in heart and belief...for this some have much illness and others have little... illness often strikes those who are belligerent, without patience, and argue too much.

Following this kind of reasoning, Luceños often say that "Uno mismo busca sus enfermedades" ("One searches for his own illnesses"), thereby placing the blame on the individual who is stricken. The scheme does, however, afford a rationalization for those illnesses that occasionally befall the Good Man. These come directly from God and function to remind His children of His omnipotent presence. In the response that follows, the informant was asked if illness ever strikes the Good Man.

> Yes, it strikes...like what happened to my father. He got sick for about eight days but he is getting better...because he is a good person. [Question: Then why did he get sick at all?] Because it had to strike. [Question: But why?] Because it was a reminder of God... there is a God, there is a God who molests us. One must remember God, and if there were no reminders of God, then we would not remember him.

One's behavior, thoughts, and beliefs, then, are of primary importance in explaining the incidence of illness. As will be noted in a later section, they also figure prominently in the area of witchcraft.

Several other concepts from the general area of world view have an important bearing on medical beliefs and practices. These are the notions of suerte (luck), destino (destiny), corazón (heart), espíritu (spirit), and alma (soul). These data were gathered from a number of preliminary interviews and questionnaire items followed by structured, open-ended interviews with ten male Indian informants over forty years of age. The latter were conducted in Cakchiquel by a bilingual research assistant and written out in Spanish. For the purposes of this presentation, variation will be noted only where several informants departed significantly from notions held by the majority of other respondents.

Suerte and destino are best viewed as part and parcel of man's predestined journey through life. One's suerte, endowed by God at birth, carries all that will pass during his mortal existence: occupation, fortune, calamities, and, centrally important to this paper, the illnesses he will acquire. Four informants equated destino with suerte, but the others insisted that destino was more accurately designated as the termination or fulfillment of one's suerte. The particulars and outcome of a man's suerte and destino are known only to the supernatural donor.

In San Lucas, suerte is generally categorized in terms of polar extremes as buena suerte (good luck) and mala suerte (bad luck), although the middle ground (suerte regular) can be elicited with probing. One with buena suerte has learned an occupation that is lucrative and allows him not only to provide well for his family but to accumulate some material wealth. A person who is poverty-stricken has obviously been endowed with mala suerte. It is possible to have different suerte in different areas of life. One young Luceño male noted that he had buena suerte with women--as evidenced by frequent conquests --but mala suerte when it came to occupation: he had on several occasions been denied lucrative positions at the last moment. Another informant--one of the Indians who had reached a superior position in the economic life of San Lucas and thus had shown his buena suerte in this area--said that he had mala suerte in the streets. He often met evil spirits on his journeys to and from the fields and so was often frequently a victim of "fright sickness."

Although each man is ignorant of the kind of suerte he has received from God, it is made evident in his overall deportment and in the fortunes and misfortunes that befall him throughout his life. Since it is believed that God helps those with buena suerte and neglects those with mala suerte, it is difficult to escape the bind of suerte. Luceños are not very knowledgeable regarding the reasons that God endows some with buena and others with mala suerte. Some informants did suggest, however, that the suerte of an infant can be determined by the previous acts of his parents: a child born to sin-laden parents is likely to receive mala suerte.

Seven of the ten informants stated that one could change or lose his suerte; the other three said it was fixed and static. This appears contradictory and requires further explanation. The majority pointed out that although one's suerte was fixed by the Creator at birth, each individual was charged with the responsibility of pursuing its fulfillment, following the dictates of his intelligence. One who fails to do so will surely lose his suerte. It is significant to note that although several informants said that one could swap bad for good and good for bad, they could supply examples only of the latter. Two of these follow:

> Everyone could plainly see that Juan's suerte was clearly marked for him to be a curer. Early successes in aiding the sick and calling for supernatural sanction were direct proof of this, and all urged him to follow his buena suerte. Yet, Juan did not want to devote his time to curing and chose instead to cultivate his land. Thus, he

> lost his suerte--something that can never be reclaimed--and now he is poverty-stricken and cannot even feed and clothe his family. He did not follow his suerte.
>
> Manuel was born to prosperous parents and it appeared to all that his suerte was good. However, he chose to loaf and squander his money rather than learn an occupation and spend frugally. He was finally left jobless and penniless. His buena suerte is gone forever.

The concept of suerte and destino have an important role in sickness, health, and death. The kinds of illnesses a person contracts, the frequency of their occurrence, and the cause of death are all marked in the suerte and are said to be one's destino. Here, it is possible to see how the two concepts can be delineated and the reasons for their frequent confusion. Illnesses are said to be fixed in the suerte but are often referred to as one's destino when they occur. Similarly, cause of death is contained in the suerte but is said to be one's destino. In native usage, then, the two terms are often used interchangeably. There was no clear indication from the informants or any other evidence gathered during the field period that indicated the possibility of changing those aspects of the suerte and destino that related to the medical sphere. Those appear to be clearly fixed and unchangeable in Luceño cognition.

When a Luceño lives an unusually long life, it is because of his suerte; when an infant dies of "unexplainable" causes in the early days of his life, it is due to his suerte; when a small boy who cannot swim drowns while playing on one of the docks near the lake shore, it is his destino and was marked in his suerte. Further clarification of the efficacy of these notions in the areas of illness and death is suggested in the quotes below, freely translated from Spanish:

> If a person gets sick a lot, it is because of his suerte, and if he dies very young, be it in an accident or due to an illness, this is also his suerte.
>
> My companions and I go to the coast often, and I never get sick. On the other hand, my companions get sick with malaria. But me, never. It is because my suerte is good that I never get sick.
>
> One can go to the doctor and get remedies and at the same time beg God for a benediction to make the remedies work, but it is the suerte that determines the cure of an illness...but, if it is one's hour to die, if his suerte arrives, no amount of pills or injections will effect a cure.
>
> If one has a strong illness and

> remedies and injections have no effect, then it is the _suerte_, and the patient will die...the illness has no remedy.

Another particularly good example of the efficacy of _suerte_ in Indian belief is provided by the following case, summarized from field notes:

> Narciso went to a local spiritualist in 1962 when his eleven-month-old son, Juan, had a severe case of the measles. After divining to locate the reason that Juan could not be cured, the spiritualist reported that the child would die at five o'clock in the afternoon. His _suerte_ was gone and nothing would help. Therefore, she advised Narciso to buy clothes for the burial instead of wasting his money on remedies. The child died as predicted.

In sum, _suerte_ is the preordained path of one's life; _destino_ is the fulfillment of the journey. Jointly they account for the totality of events and activities that comprise the unique configuration of each man's mortal existence. At the same time, each individual is charged with the responsibility of searching out and following his _suerte_ through determined effort and the diligent application of his intelligence. Failure to do so results in the loss of one's _suerte_, which is generally considered in negative

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terms. There is a vague notion that one can exchange _mala_ _suerte_ for _buena_ _suerte_ through extraordinarily good conduct and hard work. The concept of _suerte_ assumes particular importance in Luceño beliefs about sickness and death.

The average Luceño can point to the proper location of the _corazón_ when shown a drawing of the internal organs of the human body and can note its function in supplying blood to the rest of the organism. The _corazón_ is more, however. It is the seat of life, the center of the body, which is charged with the responsibility of animating all other organs and external body parts. The explanation, given below by one informant is common:

> The _corazón_ is an organ of flesh but it is also the life of man. It is the center of all the organs and we can say it is like a motor that moves all of the human body, for here are connected all the other organs by means of the veins.

In regard to illness, it is believed that the _corazón_ can malfunction and fail, causing sickness and death. Once it is damaged, it can never be repaired.

The _corazón_ is also generally believed to be the locus of the _alma_ and the _espíritu_, although three out of ten informants said that both could be located in any part of the body.

Even though some informants equate the alma and espíritu, others make some significant distinctions between the two. They do, however, share several common attributes. Both consist of an invisible spiritual essence sent by the Creator at the moment of birth to give life to the human organism. The entrance of this "breath of life" into the body is evident in the infant's initial cry. Beyond this, there are some important differences. The alma animates the body and contains within it various human qualities, such as valor, jealousy, and generosity, to which can be attributed the nature of goodness and badness. The espíritu, on the other hand, is most accurately designated as the guiding principle, or conscience, which directs a man through the rigors and temptations of life on earth. Although the alma is fixed within the body from birth until death, the espíritu leaves the body during sleep to roam the countryside and often to visit the places where enemies of its holder may be attempting to bewitch him. This wandering of the espíritu during sleep accounts for the activities and sensations of dreams and often leads to accusations of witchcraft.

The alma and the espíritu quit the mortal body at death; at that point, informants no longer make distinctions between the two, but equate both as *espíritu*. The *espíritu* of a person who has conducted himself well through life journeys to heaven, generally in the form of a dove. On the other hand, the *espíritu* of one who has led an evil worldly existence is doomed to a life of suffering on earth. They become the *malos espíritus* (evil spirits), which will be discussed at some length below.

Several informants mentioned a duality of the spirit. One, the *espíritu del cuerpo* (spirit of the body), guards the body in life and leaves at death; the other, the *espíritu del cielo* (spirit of heaven), leaves at death and wanders during sleep. There is also some notion of an evil spirit and a good spirit, one of the flesh and the other of God. Informants, however, are quite vague about these notions. It is probable that the duality harks back to pre-conquest Mayan beliefs and under Catholic influence was reinterpreted as the *alma* (spirit of the body) and the *espíritu* (spirit of heaven). Mendelson, in an earlier study of the less-acculturated Indians in neighboring Santiago Atitlán, discusses a similar example of the confounding of the concept of *espíritu* and posits the intermixture of Catholic, Protestant, and Mayan beliefs as the most likely cause (1956). The Atitecos also held to the notion of an evil spirit (*isom*) and a good spirit (*ajelbal*). The latter wandered in dreams and went to the sky in death.

By any standards, the Indians in San Lucas lead a harsh life. Land is scarce, wages are low, prices are high, work is hard and not always available, and illness and death are frequent visitors. Increasing social, political, and economic domination by a Ladino minority contributes additional hardships. The materials presented above are integral parts of the perceptual apparatus that provides the Luceño with a plausible rationalization of his highly unpredictable existence in such an environment. He sees himself at the mercy of a somewhat impersonal deity who can be reached for aid only through intermediaries, mortal and supernatural. And, as we shall see below, the host of evil spirits with which he shares the world add further weight to his difficult journey through life as a mere mortal.

Frequent violation of rigid standards of deportment makes impending misfortune a constant reality, and the notion of suerte contributes an element of helplessness and submission to the threat. Further, since suerte is predetermined by God, the individual should not be held responsible for his actions or his fate. He is charged only with following his suerte to its destino, regardless of its

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nature. Conversely, the Luceño is relatively free to disregard the plight of his wayward and less fortunate fellows, since they are merely complying with the dictates of their own suerte. The qualities of good and evil ascribed to the alma, espíritu, and corazón lend further conviction to this configuration. The contemporary Christian notion that man is capable of engineering his own fate through his mortal deeds has made little headway among the Indian population. One who follows that path was obviously endowed with those qualities in his suerte at birth.

A discussion of the supernatural world and witchcraft will shed further light on the Indian's perception of himself and his place in the world and will pave the way for a more comprehensive account of the etiology of illness.

The Supernatural World and Witchcraft. "Primero Dios" ("God is supreme"), "solo Dios sabe" ("only God knows"), and "Dios manda" ("God commands") are commonly heard in Luceño conversation and point out the supreme, all-powerful position of God in the Indian supernatural pantheon. In practice, however, the power of God is approached through lesser intermediaries --the saints, apostles, and angels. God is envisaged by the common man as a distant deity who is more or less unapproachable. Although their numbers are small, Catholic Action and Protestant groups are making some progress in presenting the notion that the individual can effect a personal communion with God, but the process is a slow one.

For the more traditional Luceños, Maximón (Cakchiquel: ma = señor, ximón = Simón) dominates the supernatural scheme even though his power emanates from God. The life-size, straw-filled image of Maximón is entrusted to cofradía San Lucas where it is the focal point of traditional costumbres, most importantly those concerned with illness and witchcraft. He smokes, drinks, and rests in a locked coffin when not involved in a costumbre or walking the streets during evil hours. He is referred to as Judas as well as Maximón, but most often addressed as San Simón (St. Simon) and Don Pedro (for Don Pedro de Alvarado, the Spanish conquistador of the lake region) in the cofradía. Among other things, his power can be harnessed by the use of proper oratory and propitiation to cause or cure illness, insure good harvests, assure the devotion of one's sweetheart, or help an alcoholic break the habit.

Informant responses regarding the origin and function of Maximón are not mutually consistent as to specific details, but they share a number of common elements. The account that follows draws on interviews with three shamans and several other informants:

> Jesucristo was the son of God and Maximón was the first apostle. Maximón betrayed Jesucristo to the Jews for twenty pieces of silver and then took his own life by hanging. For this reason he is hung in front of the church every Holy Week to recreate this event. Jesucristo returned to the heavens, but there was not room in the sky for two powerful beings, so God left Maximón on the earth to suffer for his sins and, at the same time, to administer justice to mortals. [Some informants say that God had two sons, Jesucristo for the heavens and Maximón for the earth.] For this reason, Maximón is often referred to as Dios Mundo (God of the earth). Those who have it in their _suerte_ can learn the proper orations and use the power of Maximón for good or evil. But he is just and sends evil only to those who deserve it by their thoughts and deeds. On the other hand, he will render his aid only to those who have made the proper sacrifices and merit his intervention. He is like a lawyer who has been sent to earth by God to administer His justice.

There is evidence from Santiago Atitlán that establishes Maximón as an element of pre-conquest Mayan culture in the lake region.

Mendelson reports a myth from that village that posits the origin of the idol as a guardian of sexual morality.

> ...they [the Atitecos] went up into a place in the _monte_...and there they chose a tree and each machete stroke they gave was a prayer until they had made a figure with body and hands and feet, and they clothed it and put upon it a mask. Then they said, "You will stay here in the land and look after our women ..." And the head moved up and down saying yes. So the figure came down with the men from the _monte_ and it was actually walking with the men (Mendelson 1956:86).

The myth continues, with Maximón becoming a troublemaker and a formidable power. Mendelson notes that with the conquest and the introduction of Catholicism, Maximón took on the double identity of Pedro de Alvarado, conqueror of the Indians, and Judas, traitor to Jesus Christ. According to informants, Santiago Atitlán and Santa Lucía Utatlán are the only other villages adjacent to the lake that maintain an image of Maximón.

Diablo (the Devil or Satan) is a less important yet viable source of power in the supernatural world. In Luceño cognition, his major role is master of the witches and those who aspire to the position of witch* must first make a contract with his person.

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*In Cakchiquel, "witch" is _ak-itz_.

> The novice must study under another witch who will act as his teacher, for, unlike shamans who have curing in their *suerte* and receive their knowledge in dreams from God and Maximón, the witch must learn the skills of his evil practice. Also, one who wants to be a witch must drink much *aguardiente* during his training to overcome mortal weakness and keep him from going crazy. Then, he must go to the graveyard on three successive Wednesdays to talk with Diablo and make a contract with him. He receives the right to be a witch and his power from Diablo but must, in turn, pledge the spirits of himself, his wife, and children to him. These become evil spirits at death and are doomed to suffer forever on the earth and continue the work of Diablo. Once this contract is made, there is no way to turn back.

Some of the more Christianized Indians hold that Diablo is also the master of Maximón. This notion is not supported by the majority of Luceños, however, even though Maximón's presence in the arena of witchcraft arouses some ambivalence. In these cases informants merely note that occasionally Maximón and Diablo are companions in their work. Even though Maximón is not generally considered an evil spirit, he can assume that function as he administers justice during his nighttime strolls. He appears as a mist that casts a huge shadow, and his presence is usually indicated by howling and cowering dogs. Contact with his apparition yields illness to those who deserve it, and those engaged in arguments as he passes the household are certain to receive early misfortune.

Most evil spirits presently recognized by the Indians have been thoroughly confounded with those of the Ladinos through the historica intermixture of both systems of belief. It is probable, however, that those with a specific Cakchiquel referent are of pre-conquest origin, even though their contemporary interpretation has been subject to modification. The most common of the evil spirits are presented below:

1. *Llorona* or *Siquanaba* (Cakchiquel: *Llorona* = *mixonél*). Belief in this female spirit, who preys on young men in love or seeking sweethearts, is widespread among both Indians and Ladinos. She is said to assume the identity of a beautiful woman, often one's sweetheart, and entice an unsuspecting male into some out-of-the-way place. One glance at close range causes illness, and her touch is inescapable death. Those who have seen her (at a distance) report that she wears flowing white clothes, has no face, and sports one animal leg, usually that of a chicken, turkey, or pig. A few older Indian informants objected to equat

ing llorona and mixonél. Some designate the latter as caretaker of the graveyard; others say she is a spirit of the lake. Llorona is said to be strictly a Ladino spirit. In all cases, however, she retains the function of tempting enamored males and causing illness and death.

2. Duende or Sombrerón. This little man who wears a large sombrero is particularly fond of children. He borrows their clothes and toys when these articles are left outside at night, thereby contaminating them and causing illness to the next user. On occasion he kidnaps children and, in addition, has a particular flair for braiding horses' manes at night. Some Indian informants identify the figure of a duende as that of Maximón.

3. Characotel. Both Indians and Ladinos employ this Cakchiquel term to describe the animal form that a witch or spiritualist assumes as a disguise to cover the performance of his evil deeds. The form taken is usually that of a cat, goat, dog, pig, owl, bat, or snake, although any animal or bird form is possible. To become a characotel, the witch employs secret orations and rolls over three times to the right in front of a cross. (Several crosses are conveniently located in the village.) To regain human form, the witch returns to the

cross and rolls over three times to the left. Luceños enjoy repeating the tale of a strange and vicious dog who was trapped and killed one evening and left in a dry river bed to the west of town. In the morning, the dog's remains had vanished; in their place were those of a suspected witch.

4. Cadejo. Long fur, glowing eyes, and a tiny mouth describe this special dog who follows wayward drunks and licks their faces when they fall and vomit. Some informants say he is an evil spirit and causes illness, but others deny his evil, insisting that he is merely a guardian of the drunks. Some Indians say that a cadejo is simply a kind of characotel.

5. Espíritus de los Muertos (Cakchiquel: espíritu = ranima; muerto = kaminak). This category, spirits of the dead, is undoubtedly of pre-conquest origin and, according to some Indians, incorporates many evil spirits adopted from the Ladino tradition. When tied down to specifics, however, ranima kaminak are conceived as the spirits of deceased witches, spiritualists, and similarly evil people who, because of their mortal deeds, have been doomed to eternal suffering on earth. They reside in the graveyard with their mortal remains and come forth at night to harm mortals. Although

they occasionally do so on their own, more often they are the pawns of witches and spiritualists who use them to announce and deliver the evil they send. Ranima kaminak can assume any form (and, hence, can be equated with duende, llorona, characotel, etc.), including that of their mortal existence. But even when invisible they announce their presence by throwing rocks and dirt, screaming, crying, knocking on the door, or touching their victim. Further, they can harm one's spirit as it wanders during dreams.

All of these evil spirits can be properly categorized as one or another form of espanto (Cakchiquel: espanto = xibinel), a term that is cognitively salient to both Indians and Ladinos. An espanto causes susto (Cakchiquel: susto = quixiqui) by administering sudden "frights." Contact is most probable at night during the evil hours, particularly on evil days. The symptoms are varied but often include high temperature, vomiting, loose bowels, body swelling, loss of appetite, and, in infants, excessive crying. The symptoms suggest the various gastro-intestinal maladies that commonly plague people of the region. Furthermore, since one is not always aware of espanto contact, susto can be conveniently designated after symptoms have become manifest.

As an espanto, the characotel is particularly feared, since it not only evokes susto but functions as a messenger for witches and spiritualists. In this capacity, the characotel instills fear, an important psychological component, by announcing the imminence of witchcraft and is credited with the ability to introduce various objects and animals into an intended victim's body, thereby inducing pain, inflamed sores, illness, and, if the sickness is not appropriately treated, death. Intruded objects commonly include such things as rocks, eggs, nails, frogs, worms, and snakes. It should be noted in passing that in his journeys through the village at night Maximón, too, is often identified as an espanto.

Another concept commonly heard in village conversation, which has important bearing on Luceño perception of reality, is envidia (envy). This is particularly salient with respect to witchcraft. Informants often comment that it is impossible to improve one's standing without inciting envidia in one's fellows. A new house, bountiful harvest, good job, proficient wife, healthy chickens, or any other good fortune is said to evoke this response, thereby making the recipient a prime target for witchcraft. The significance of envidia in San Lucas is exemplified in its common use as a cover term for any misfortune attributed to witchcraft.

The incidence of imputed witchcraft in San Lucas is difficult to estimate due to its underground nature and the informants' reluctance to discuss it. But none of the forty household heads interviewed extensively over a six-month period about illness in their households rejected the efficacy of witchcraft. Furthermore, five illness episodes were attributed to witchcraft during the six-month observation period, and six sample informants reported an incident of witchcraft in their immediate families within the last five years. The writer was also able to gather materials on several cases that occurred during the field work period from non-sample informants.

Since no emphasis was placed on the gathering of this kind of material, the figures are undoubtedly low. Still, combined with frequent Luceño conversation on the topic, they provide sufficient evidence to establish witchcraft as an effective force in the community.

Agreement on who the witches are is something else. Luceño informants commonly named seven, although they reached substantial agreement on only four of these: three males and one female, all Indians. In addition, one of the Ladino spiritualists is a common object of witchcraft accusations. The most potent witches and spiritualists, however, reside elsewhere. Both are sought on the coast, and powerful spiritualists abide in Quezaltenango and Guatemala City. On the other hand, informants note that for a good Indian witch, one need go no further than neighboring Santiago Atitlán.

In considering magic and witchcraft cross-culturally, Rosenthal and Siegal note that attributing more powerful sorcery to outsiders is commonplace: "...belief in witchcraft and sorcery, and fear of these rites, tend to be associated with the belief that local sorcery is weaker than that of other groups" (1959:157). They explain that the attitude occurs most prominently where a group has great fear of sorcery (and, hence, strong belief in its validity) but a low incidence of local practice. The combination creates dissonance "...between the degree of fear and the scarcity, or inadequacy, of the sorcery. Hence, the attributing of more effective sorcery to outsiders" (1959:157).

It should be pointed out that Luceños believe that once witchcraft has been applied, the best defense against it is counter-witchcraft. And many feel that the best Indian witch is no match for a competent Ladino spiritualist. It does not seem overly hazardous to suggest that the latter belief is a reflection of the perceived superiority of Ladino culture and, hence, a further concomitant of the acculturation situation. Still, except for secondhand accounts, the writer could find little evidence of sorcery actually being practiced, even though three of those most commonly accused of its practice were frequent and seemingly reliable informants. These men, of course, labeled themselves shamans (*ak-ij*) rather than witches (*ak-itz*), and, interestingly, two of them denied the existence of witches in San Lucas proper. The Rosenthal and Siegal propositions, then, appear applicable to the situation in San Lucas.

In light of the preceding discussion, it is plausible to posit two important, mutually reinforcing functions of witchcraft in San Lucas. It serves as (1) a means of social control, and (2) an explanation for some misfortunes, most significantly illness and death. As social control, the ever-present threat of witchcraft reinforces the concept of the Good Man, since proper deportment is the best shield against it. The response of an informant discussing the utilization of Maximón in witchcraft is to the point:

> He [Maximón] hears us and sees us. If one is at fault he will

> know and send a bad illness. If not, he will not help the witch. He is here on earth as a second God to do justice.

Witchcraft not only aids in the rationalization of the illness and death that frequent the daily lives of Luceños but also locates a scapegoat. This undoubtedly serves a psychological function in relieving anxiety and guilt when carelessness or neglect could alternatively be invoked as the cause. The implementation of witchcraft to explain the illness and death of infants and children is an extreme example of the scapegoat function. Since children are very delicate, evil directed against adults frequently "bounces off" the intended victim and lodges instead in the weaker, less resistant bodies of the very young.

The search for a scapegoat in time of crisis is, in large part, a reaction to inability to cope with harsh environmental factors. The incidence of death and illness is high; available resources to combat them are limited. When mere subsistence places heavy demands on one's labor and meagre finances, the investment of time and money on the sick is often neglected. The five dollars required for a ceremony or for injections and patent remedies in the pharmacy can feed a large family for over two weeks. Furthermore, it may be in the patient's suerte to reject treatment, making death imminent anyhow. It becomes psychologically expedient, after the fact, to attribute a death, or even an extended illness, to witchcraft. Proof is not required. Rosenthal and Siegal note the use of such scapegoats among the Navaho (1959:150) and comment on the association of supernatural practices and environmental forces not amenable to effective manipulation.

> ...magic arises as a symbolic means of handling important environmental influences which are not subject to empirical control, and also for dealing with the anxiety, frustration, or threat which may result when people are confronted with important environmental forces which they cannot master (1959:144).

The Human Organism. Numerous considerations of body physiology and maintenance enter the myriad of Indian beliefs that account for illness. Most important are the blood, strength, and sustenance of the organism. In addition, certain basic precautions with regard to the use and treatment of the body are deemed necessary. These are best conceptualized as conditioning factors that have a determinant effect in the susceptibility to, frequency, longevity, and severity of illness.

Like suerte, the nature of the blood and body is endowed at birth and an instrumental determining role is ascribed to parents. Weak parents beget weak offspring; sickly parents beget sickly offspring; and parents with bad or scarce blood pass the same to their children. The general nature of the blood (weak-strong; bad-good; scarce-abundant) and the body (weak-strong) plays an important part in health. A person with good blood and a strong body is less likely to contract illness; when he does, he will fare better than someone with the opposite qualities. Blood that is excessively strong or weak increases the possibility of various kinds of skin eruptions; scarce blood leads to fatigue and susceptibility to a range of maladies; one with a weak body is particularly prone to respiratory ailments during inclement weather; bad blood combined with excessive body heat contributes to tuberculosis, and so on.

Although some informants feel that the nature of both blood and body are fixed at birth, the majority maintain that both are amenable to manipulation through variation in diet and body maintenance. Good food and a reasonable work load will strengthen the body and blood; overwork, lack of sleep, and improper diet contribute to debility in both. Effective remedies in time of sickness are also seen as important, and patent blood fortifiers are popular.

The Indians recognize the deleterious effects of the lack of meat, milk, and eggs in their diet and are quick to note that the easier life and superior diet of the Ladino population contribute to their better health and make them less susceptible to illness. It is significant in this regard that those Indians who reject the old belief that Ladinos have weaker blood than Indians say that the opposite must be true due to the Ladino's light work and good food.

In addition to body physiology and maintenance, certain precautions regarding the use and treatment of the body are held to be important health conditioning factors. Overwork and lack of sleep have already been mentioned. The consumption of too much fruit and sweet foods (such as sweet breads) leads to intestinal worms. Overeating can leave one with indigestion, and an argument may yield temper illness. Allowing a menstruating woman, a dog in heat, a man with a hangover, or anyone with hot or excessively strong blood to gaze at an infant will probably result in the evil eye. Playing with avocado pits or passing over used bandages in the streets is conducive to various kinds of skin eruptions. Children who play in places frequented by evil spirits are likely to get fright illness, and infants who suffer a bad fall (or are hit by their own returning spirit because it was frightened by evil spirits during its wandering) are likely candidates for fallen fontanel.

Luceños also emphasize the importance of protecting the organism from the natural elements. Overexposure to an excess of heat, cold, wind, or rain serves as a catalyst for illness, particularly for diseases that affect the respiratory system. The precautionary measures that involve the hot-cold contrast, however, are singularly important. A hot or cold quality is attributed to solid food, liquids, and many medicinal remedies (both herbal and patent), and mixing two of an opposite nature can lead to sickness. Informants note that hot remedies are bad for some illnesses and cold remedies adversely affect others. As often noted in the literature, the attribution of hotness and coldness to certain items has no necessary relation to actual temperature.

The heat of the human body in combination with the cold of the natural elements is frequently cited as a "cause" of illness. A woman who goes into the cold night air after sewing or cooking, a man who steps in a cold stream on the coast while carrying a heavy backload, one who bathes in the lake or gets soaked in the rain while sweating--all are prime candidates for a number of maladies, the most common being rheumatism, tuberculosis, and malaria. The notion that body temperature and blood temperature rise together is central to these beliefs.

It is important to emphasize the mutually reinforcing aspect of the conditioning factors. Bad blood, weak constitution, deficient diet, and carelessness should, singly or in combination, contribute to frequent and serious illness. The first three could easily be attributed to mala suerte. With that combination, improper deportment in the eyes of one's fellows and the supernaturals would add the final blow.

Constitutional factors also apply to Luceño notions about contagion and bed rest during illness. Even when illnesses are designated as contagious, informants often stipulate that they can be passed to another person only if he is in a weakened state. Bad blood, body debility, and "fear" of the illness are most important. The latter notion not only contributes to constitutional weakness but suggests that misfortune might be imminent due to some perceived violation of behavioral norms.

The concept of germs as agents of contagion is little developed. Informants note that the illnesses regarded as contagious are merely contracted through contact with the clothes, eating utensils, and bandages of the sick. The belief in contamination by bandages is particularly strong. Luceños believe that some illnesses are contracted by simply passing over a used bandage or head scarf that has been thrown in the street by an ill person.

Bed rest is generally recommended only if the patient is too weak to stand. Most Indians hesitate to take to their beds with any illness because they fear that it will contribute to their weakened condition and they may not be able to get up again. Like the hospital, bed is where people go to die.

*The Etiology of Illness.* The discussion so far has illuminated the bare essentials of world view that combine to provide the Luceño with an explanation for the incidence and variable nature of illness and death in his community. In this section, the various elements of the belief scheme will be brought together and related in a manner that most closely approximates the cognitive view of a majority of Indian informants. It should be emphasized that this presentation represents a compilation of responses from numerous informants. It is not likely that all of the information could be elicited in precisely the same form from individual informants, nor is it probable that anything in the average Luceño's experience would ever justify such a venture. Table 1 presents a graphic representation of the materials to be considered.

Four general sources of illness emanate in one way or another from the supreme power of God. To punish sins and remind mortals of His omnipotent presence, He intervenes directly, sending illness by way of the natural elements: air, wind, rain, and seasonal changes. Indirectly, he intervenes by making illness available to those who seek their own misfortune through carelessness and neglect.* Again, the natural elements

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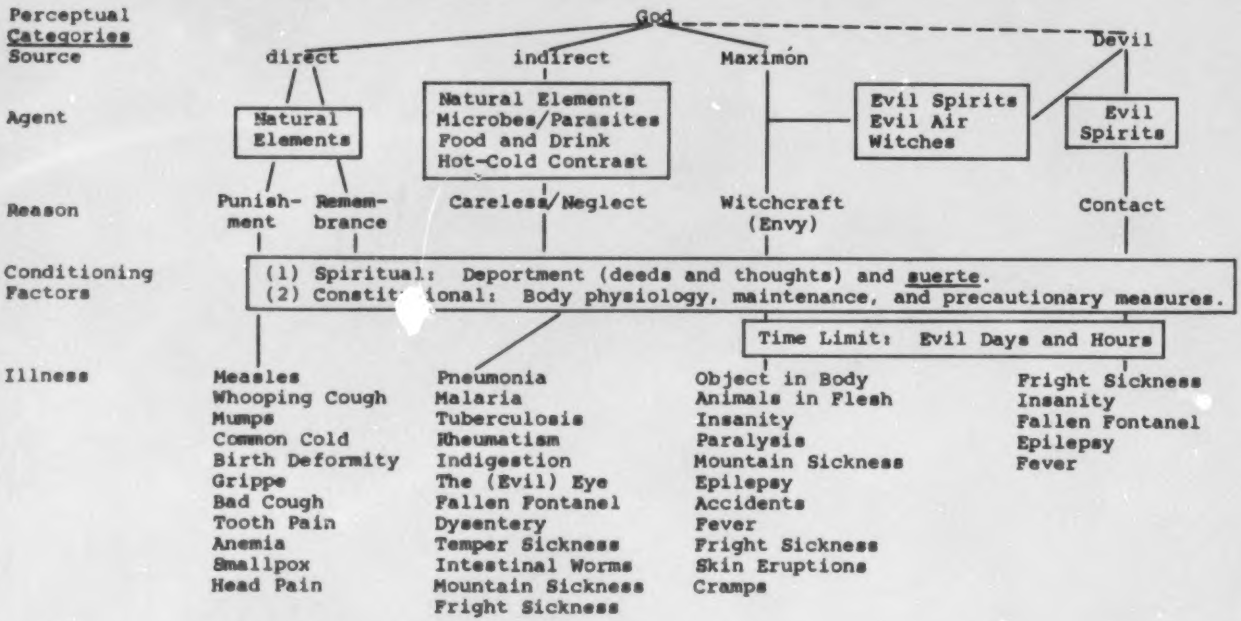
*The terms "direct" and "indirect" are used by the writer to correspond to a very real distinction made by Luceños. They say that some illnesses are due to direct intervention by God. He sends these to punish a violation of the moral code or to remind man of His presence and His power (direct). Other illnesses, however, are not actually sent by God.

## TABLE 1

Summary of Indian Notions Regarding the Cause of Illness in San Lucas, Showing Some Selected Common Ailments Classified according to the Most Probable Etiological Category.



function as agents along with microbes, parasites, food and drink, and the violation of hot-cold precautions.

The power of Maximón, God's earthbound marshal of justice, and the power of the Devil, whom He allows to exist,* can be harnessed by witches, who act as intermediaries between the people they serve and the power they have at their disposal. Evil spirits--often the witch as characotel--and "evil air" are used to

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They are merely ever-present on the earth and, like all other things, they are His creations. In effect, God leaves these illnesses around for man to stumble over according to his own volition (indirect).

*In Luceño cognition, God and the Devil are not seen as equal forces representing the opposition between good and evil. Rather, God is envisaged as an all-powerful supreme deity who dominates all other forces in the supernatural pantheon, both good and evil. Therefore, nothing exists without His sanction. Still, the evil that emanates from the realm of the Devil can operate independently of God--with one important reservation, which is central to Luceño notions regarding illness causation. God allows evil to befall only those who, through their mortal deeds and thoughts, deserve it. In this sense, the illnesses attributed to the work of the Devil and his various disciples can be seen as another element of God's overall scheme to enforce the moral code.

bring about this man-made misfortune. Finally, a host of free-roaming evil spirits inhabit the environment along with mortals and are vaguely connected with the evil power of the Devil. Any form of contact with these creatures begets illness.

Two sets of conditioning factors, spiritual and constitutional, are important in determining whether illness will be contracted. Among spiritual factors, a person's deportment and the nature of his _suerte_ are important. Of the physical factors, body physiology, maintenance, and precautionary measures are significant. A special conditioner in the form of time limitations is operative in the sphere of witchcraft and evil spirits. Contact is restricted to "bad days" and "bad hours."

_Symptomology._ An investigation of symptomology in San Lucas showed that there was little agreement on which symptoms or syndromes constituted diagnostic evidence of a given illness (generalized symptoms designated by a cover term).* That was found to be true of laymen and folk practitioners alike. Not only was there lack of agreement on which symptoms indicated which illness, but the same symptoms were commonly used as evidence of a large number of unrelated ailments. The inconsistency was particularly evident where traditional etiological categories were brought to bear. The symptoms used to indicate such things as fright sickness, fallen fontanel, the (evil) eye, mountain sickness, temper sickness, indigestion, and ailments due to malevolent spirits are sufficiently diffuse and generalized that they can be used interchangeably to diagnose any of these ailments; even to diagnose many diseases recognized by the practitioners of Western medicine. Use of the traditional categories, however, serves a multiple function and is consistent with the elements of world view presented above. Traditional diagnosis not only assigns cause but calls for treatment through established procedures that are relatively inexpensive, expedient, and, most important,

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*The "illnesses" presented in the table are generalized clusters of symptoms, or syndromes, designated by a cover term. While this terminology is cognitively salient in San Lucas, perfect correspondence between these

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designations and the glosses from Western medicine should not be expected. Further, the reader is reminded that informants commonly disagreed as to the specific symptom composition of the various syndromes (illnesses).

are within the realm of the culturally familiar in a situation fraught with the uncertainties that invariably accompany culture change. The success of these practices is largely inconsequential, since remedies from Western medicine are often used concurrently (to cure a "different" illness). Where failure is evident in death or increased severity of symptoms, suerte can be brought to bear as explanation. In Luceño perception, the central consideration is that something tangible and culturally valid is being done to relieve the victim.

Additional Considerations. Those elements of world view that have an important bearing on the reception of modern medicine in San Lucas have been discussed. It remains to consider several closely related factors that have had a similar effect on the innovation process: belief in the efficacy of supernatural aid in the treatment of illness, differential perception of the curer's motivation and role, and shortcomings in modern medical programs initiated in the community.

Prayer to invoke supernatural aid is an integral part of the curing process. It is normally accompanied by the burning of candles and incense and is utilized by the victim and his family as well as all the practitioners of folk Ladino and folk Indian medicine. (The pharmacist is a lone exception.) At the lay level, the prayers involve articles of faith, confession, and standard Catholic prayers; e.g., Our Father, Hail Mary, and so forth. The professional curer follows similar procedures but adds his own unique touch and specialized vocabulary. The vocabulary stems from passages plagiarized from books found mysteriously in the _monte_ (a remote, uninhabited spot--see glossary) and from mimicry of the established Catholic clergy. In their approach to the supernaturals, the similarity in speech and manner between priest and shaman is unmistakable.

This element of Luceño belief cannot be overemphasized. A remedy requires supernatural sanction to be effective. And, since this sanction springs from a variety of sources, one must search for help wherever it lies. The Indians say, "_Hay que mencionar todos los poderes--Dios, los santos, los ángeles, Don Pedro_,..." ("You have to mention all of the powers--God, the saints, the angels, Don Pedro...").

The supernaturals most commonly approached to aid the sick in San Lucas include the following:

1. God, because He is the supreme power and creator of the universe.

2. Christ, because He is the Son of God and shares His power (the names of God and Christ are often used synonymously to refer to the same supreme power).

3. Maximón, because he is the highest power resident on earth and is charged with the responsibility of administering God's justice. Further, he is "dueño de las obscuridades de la noche y anda en las tinieblas" ("master of the obscurities of the night and walks in the darkness").

4. the saints, because of their close relationship to God and Christ and their ability to grant miracles--particularly Lucas (patron saint of the pueblo and keeper of his people), Santiago (strongest saint), Martín (master of the monte and the caves where witches and shamans work), and Jorge. The latter three were great warriors on horseback who still ride as spirits and "con su espada y lanza combaten la maldad" ("with their sword and lance combat evil").

5. the Apostles, because they walked with Christ and received some of His power for it.

6. the twelve Angels, particularly Gabriel and Miguel, because they are the guardians of

man and are charged with the deliverance of his spirit to heaven or hell at mortal death. 7. the evil spirits and the Devil, because they can be petitioned to combat witchcraft. The Black Christ of Esquipulas is also important in Luceño belief as a miracle worker in time of illness; a portrait of this national image is often found on individual household altars.

The continued use of shamans, even where diagnosis and treatment by practitioners of Western medicine is accepted, follows logically from this belief in the necessity of supernatural sanction. For most Indians, the shaman remains *sine qua non* as an intermediary between the sick person and supernatural aid in the curing process. His ability to beg God's pardon, seek a benediction from God, and request favors of the saints, among others, plays an instrumental role.

The quest for supernatural sanction is not restricted to the tradition-minded. Members of Catholic Action, who dogmatically deny the validity of many elements of the old curing procedure, replace the mediating role of the shaman with recitation by fellow members and blessings from the priest. It is worthy of note, however, that when confronted with the probability of witchcraft, many of these reformed Catholics fall back on the services of the shaman.

The Ladino spiritualist has been effectively introduced into Indian belief, and many feel that these curers can perform the same functions as well as a shaman or better. Like witches, however, the best spiritualists reside outside the community, and the average Indian has little opportunity to seek their services.

During my initial interviews in San Lucas, I was told that more than one doctor resided in the community. My curiosity aroused, I asked an informant to show me where these doctors lived. I was led to the quarters of the resident doctor and then to one of the local pharmacies. Even though most Luceños can distinguish the doctor (médico) from the pharmacist (farmacéutico) when necessary, the two are commonly equated because the Indians perceive their functions as similar. Both wear white, carry instruments and medicine in a black bag, use unfamiliar medical terminology, examine the patient (a practice not common among shamans), prescribe remedies, and frequently resort to the hypodermic needle. Most important from the Indian point of view, however, is that both terminate their services with examination, prescription, and occasionally some treatment. Neither commands a knowledge of the procedures required to divine the cause of an illness, beg forgiveness on the patient's behalf, and seek supernatural aid wherever it lies. For this reason, many Indians will use a "doctor" and a shaman concurrently: one to supply a remedy and the other to make it work.

During the field period, one informant sought the services of the resident doctor to cure an illness attributed to witchcraft, and several others reported that pills to cure such things as the (evil) eye and fallen fontanel were available from the pharmacist. Still, the treatment of these ailments and others that derive from traditional etiological categories but are not recognized by Western medical science, remains in the curing realm of empiricists, lay curers, and shamans. The (evil) eye, fallen fontanel, fright sickness, temper sickness, mountain sickness, and various ailments attributed to witchcraft are generally believed to be outside the competence of practitioners of modern medicine. The pharmacist is not commonly sought to treat those maladies either, although folk practitioners may include in their procedures a remedy purchased at the pharmacy.

There are other important reasons for the Luceño's reluctance to accept the practitioners of modern medicine, particularly as a first-order resource. In addition to the persistence of traditional etiological categories and a strong belief in the efficacy of supernatural sanction in the curing situation, there is a significant difference in Indian perception of the curer's motivation and role. It can be illustrated by comparing the shaman and the doctor. A shaman is bound by his suerte to cure the ill even when the patient is unable to pay. His special calling and the very essence of his office are deeply rooted in the basic assumptions of traditional Indian culture. A doctor, on the other hand, is a businessman and performs his role as a means of livelihood. He is, in all respects, a foreigner. He does not share with his Indian clients a set of common understandings, and he has no culturally-sanctioned obligation to them. As we will note below, the resident doctor in San Lucas has made little effort to negate that image.

The economic element also has some importance, but it, too, is more a matter of perception than reality. Those who reject shamans, whether they use doctors or not, insist that shamans perform their services only to earn money. Conversely, those who regularly turn to shamans for help say that the doctor is too expensive; that shamans expect only the price one is able to pay. The idea is not difficult for the Luceño to accept. After all, the doctor is obviously dependent on his clients for income, whereas the shaman is forced to quit his normal work routine (generally agricultural) to come to the patient's aid.

Another notable difference between shaman and doctor is in their approach to the curing situation. The shaman becomes intimately involved. Diagnosis and treatment is a group affair attended not only by the shaman, the patient, and the patient's immediate family, but by other concerned relatives and neighbors as well. The shaman goes to the patient's home and engages various family members in conversation that focuses on the illness and its possible source. Where divination and/or treatment take place in the home, the shaman routinely drinks *aguardiente* with the family and often joins them in a meal. Divination at the shaman's house and *costumbres* in the *cofradía* and the *monte* are also attended by family members, many of whom actually partake in the ceremonial proceedings. Therefore, when the services of the shaman are solicited, the curing process is not restricted to one or two brief confrontations between patient and curer. The shaman, the patient, and the patient's family jointly partake in routinely established procedures in a culturally familiar setting. The shaman's manner is friendly and unassuming. His diagnosis is relatively quick, explained in terms the Indians understand, and not burdened by the use of complicated gadgetry and prolonged testing.

Luceños who resort to a doctor are exposed to a vastly different experience. After first registering with a nurse or receptionist, the patient joins the waiting throng. When the consultation comes, it is conducted in an impersonal and business-like fashion after only the faintest of introductory pleasantries. Unless the patient is a child, the examination is attended only by the client, the doctor, and perhaps a nurse. The doctor may ask a few questions about symptoms, eating habits, and body functions, but does not allude to any of the behavioral irregularities Luceños commonly equate with illness. Any mention by the patient of a possible supernatural source is likely to be met with silence, or, worse, ridicule. After the examination, the patient is turned over to a nurse who administers treatment, instructions, medication, or prescription as the case requires. Diagnosis, where it is offered at all, is commonly couched in unfamiliar terminology, and the patient leaves with little knowledge of his ailment or its causes.

The resident doctor is the only medical doctor who has maintained continuous first-hand contact with the Luceños; he is the primary representative of modern medicine in the community. He is an upwardly mobile middle-class Ladino striving to improve his socio-economic level. He retains his most important social ties and a separate residence in Guatemala City. During his three years in San Lucas, he has aligned himself exclusively with the upper levels of the Ladino population segment, and he is openly unsympathetic to traditional Indian culture. He is admittedly in San Lucas to make money. His manner with patients is authoritarian and impersonal, and he is intolerant of those who do not demonstrate unqualified confidence in his ability. Indians who occasionally revert to folk curers and patients who fail to follow his instructions are openly reprimanded. These characteristics have undoubtedly had a negative effect on his reputation with the Indian community. A comment by Foster about barriers to change

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describes the situation well: "The technician's uncritical acceptance of his professional point of view, as well as the underlying assumptions of his culture, can be as much a barrier to change as can the cultural forms of the target group" (1962:6). And Paul notes that "To work effectively with people we must not only be able to see the world as they see it, but must understand the psychological and social function performed by their practices and beliefs" (1955:470).

According to Dobyns, "An induced technological change will succeed to a degree proportionate to the extent to which the administered people [read "clients"] feel a need for it, are brought into its planning and execution, and feel it to be their own" (1951:31). There is no doubt that the Luceños feel a need for improved medical care, but the latter two requisites are clearly absent in the medical programs sponsored by the public health service and the resident doctor in San Lucas. Ladinos staff both dispensary and clinic, and Indians are not involved, even in an advisory capacity.

When the resident doctor held a celebration to commemorate the first surgical operation performed in his clinic, the affair was attended by local and foreign Ladinos. No Indians were invited. During the latter days of the grippe epidemic in April, 1966, he formed a committee to collect and redistribute staples and medicine to needy families. The committee was composed of the mayor, local Ladino businessmen and teachers, and several teen-age girls who normally attend schools in Guatemala City. At the initial meeting, when asked why no Indians were invited to participate, the doctor replied that "The Indians are not interested and will not cooperate with us because they are busy with other things." Others at the meeting echoed this sentiment. Parish personnel were also not invited to join the group. Instead, they conducted their own house-to-house aid mission, using members of Catholic Action to distribute goods. The parish has involved some Indians in their medical program, but it is still in too early a stage of development to be evaluated.

Summary. Three systems of medicine are extant in contemporary San Lucas. Folk Indian medicine from the Indian tradition and folk Ladino medicine from the Ladino tradition exist side by side with modern medicine, a relatively recent import from the Western cultural tradition. The two folk systems have influenced one another to a considerable extent, and concepts and techniques from modern medicine have crept into both. The result is a collection of competing and often inconsistent beliefs and practices that have not yet been organized into a coherent pattern of medical action. Current Indian curing procedures are typified by the combined use of resources from all three medical systems.

Although the proponents of modern medicine have registered some gains in San Lucas, there is a considerable reluctance by the Indian population to relinquish the use of folk curers. It can be traced to a number of related factors, including a traditional world view that postulates a positive association between the incidence of illness and infractions of the moral order; a determined belief in the efficacy of supernatural aid for the ill; the persistence of etiological categories not amenable to treatment by the practitioners of modern medicine; and negative Indian perception of the motivation and role of modern medical practitioners. In addition, the programs sponsored by agencies of modern medicine in San Lucas have not incorporated the participation and understanding of the Indian population.

The basic premises of Indian culture in San Lucas are rooted in the traditional world view. Here we find the Luceño as a relatively impotent pawn at the mercy of overwhelming supernatural odds. He has no conscious control over his own destiny and, in effect, is charged with searching out a predestined path, whether it is favorable or not. The path is literally saturated with an imponderalia of potential hazards. At any point in his daily existence, the Indian may violate the moral code and invite the displeasure of supernatural powers, with dangerous consequences. There is a thin line between the way of the Good Man and the fall to disfavor. Still, helpless and impotent as he is before his supernaturals, he is lost without them. God endows body, spirit, and life itself. Equally important, He provides man with a vaguely preordained lifeway at birth, which the Luceños explain with the notion of suerte. Man must follow his suerte to his destino, and although he can lose his suerte, there is little he can do to change it. The notion that he is unable to change what has been predestined contributes to the Luceño's feeling of impotence. It also lends an element of irresponsibility for his own shortcomings and disregard for the plight of his fellows. Mortal man is, after all, powerless to interfere with the fixed course of his own suerte or that of his neighbors.

The Luceño's approach to his supernaturals further dramatizes his impotence. Although he can conduct daily prayers at the household altar or occasional visits to the saints in the church or the cofradía, all important contacts with the supernatural world require the use of an intermediary. The shaman, witch and lay curer are the more traditional mediums between mortal man and his distant deities; in recent times, the spiritualist and priest have been added. Even in the more secular aspects of Indian culture in San Lucas, we find the use of intermediaries to perform functions felt to be outside the effective manipulation of the common man. Marriages are arranged and performed by town elders, and, prior to the advent of local Ladino government, these same elders adjudicated domestic quarrels and land disputes. Even outside the religious realm, then, the Indian manifests a traditional predisposition to turn to respected intermediaries in time of crisis and important events in the life cycle. In the transculturation situation, the intermediary function is gradually being relinquished to non-Indians.

The Luceño is not, of course, without some degree of perceived control over his own fate. Following prescribed procedures, both the environment and the supernaturals can be manipulated. A person is, after all, charged with seeking out his true suerte through the application of his intelligence, hard work, and loyal adherence to the moral code. When this element of personal mastery fails, however, he invariably retreats to the notion of mala suerte, thereby releasing himself from blame and assigning the misfortune to destiny. In the writer's opinion, the Indian's faith in control over his own destiny is diminishing in the face of increasing cultural disorganization and reliance on non-Indian institutions. More and more, he finds himself captive in a harsh environment that he can neither control nor significantly modify. In his helplessness he again turns to his revered supernaturals, and, lacking the ability to intercede on his own behalf, he generally commissions an intermediary to plead his case.

The arena of interpersonal relations presents the Luceño with his most formidable challenge. He must exhibit humility, respect, and amiability to his fellow man and, regardless of any provocation, must eschew arguments at all cost. Even his inner feelings must be constrained. He must avoid evil thoughts and suspicions of others and is not even allowed the luxury of envying one who has somehow been endowed with better suerte than his own. Any expression of hostility invites counteraction from malevolent forces. The innocent man's only salvation rests in his strong belief in God's righteousness and ultimate justice.

So the Luceño finds himself in a curious bind. He is sanctioned for violations of the moral code, but these sanctions and the violations that bring them about are believed to be preordained in his suerte at birth. His only salvation, therefore, is to place himself at the mercy of his supernaturals. Perhaps, he reasons, he has failed to search out his true suerte, and perhaps, if he conforms more rigidly to the moral code and properly supplicates the supernatural powers, his true suerte will emerge.

It is not difficult to establish the all-embracing character of the moral code. Its saliency is not restricted to a few areas of cultural concern. Instead, it permeates the total cultural fabric. A man is accountable for his deportment in every phase of mortal activity, public and private. There is no escape from its bind.

The formula is obviously untenable. The way of the Good Man is simply too fraught with obstacles to be relentlessly followed. There, however, lies the Luceño's explanation for a highly precarious existence in a harsh environment. It accounts for the high frequency of sadness, poverty, and loss of life through illness and accidents. Not surprisingly, those are the principal consequences that Luceños believe follow violation of the moral code.

Without this or a similar perceptual scheme, the Luceño would be at a loss to explain his peculiar plight. With it, however, he commands a plausible rationalization for any number of misfortunes that might otherwise threaten his canons of security and push his level of anxiety beyond tolerable limits. The elements of the perceptual scheme are part and parcel of the basic premises of Indian culture. They define the individual's place in the natural order and his relation to the mortal and non-mortal forces with which he shares his universe. They give meaning to his existence, provide an explanation for misfortune (and fortune), and dictate appropriate patterns of action to meet the exigencies of daily life. They are persistent, even under conditions of dynamic change, because to forfeit them would require the Indian to search for new meanings and new explanations. It is significant in that respect that although the active agents of change in San Lucas have implemented new patterns of behavior, they have not offered appropriate alternatives of meaning to support them.

The operation of the perceptual scheme in the area of illness and health has been documented. There is a tight association between infractions of the moral code and the incidence of illness. The correlation is strongest where traditional etiological categories have not been effectively challenged by modern medicine. The diagnosis of the (evil) eye, fright sickness, fallen fontanel, mountain sickness, temper sickness, and any illness attributed to malevolent spirits or witchcraft calls for folk procedures to divine cause and prescribe treatment. Since the illnesses are not recognized by modern medicine and are believed to be outside the range of a doctor's competence, they are commonly referred to shamans and other folk curers. When a doctor is called in, it is generally at an advanced stage in the illness episode and is often to treat a "different" illness. It is reasonable to suggest that these etiologies are perpetuated by the basic premises of Indian culture that establish a cause-and-effect relationship between infractions of the moral code and misfortune: punitive illness is an unavoidable outcome of immoral behavior. Reasoning along similar lines, Paul has suggested that "...the most difficult task in health education is to change those cultural features which stand as symbols or indirect expressions of the fundamental moral code governing interpersonal conduct" (1955:15).

Although it is undoubtedly true that the proponents of modern medicine in San Lucas are aided somewhat in their task by their own prestige and that of the services and medication they render, there are obvious shortcomings in their failure to consider indigenous cultural forms and to incorporate Indian elements into the planning and maintenance of their medical programs. The problem is best exemplified in the practice of the resident doctor. Although the public health service program shares the same shortcomings, it is much less a factor in contemporary medical aid. At the time of this study, an evaluation of the fledgling parish program would have been premature.

In the face of growing Indian dissatisfaction with folk curers and traditional curing practices, the opportunity for medical innovation is apparent. The existence of a felt need is a strong impetus to change. Negative Indian perception of the doctor's motivation and role, however, provides a significant barrier to rapid medical innovation. As we have seen, the shaman assumes a role of personal involvement in the curing sequence and shares his clients' belief that the moral order and incidence of illness are related. He works within the realm of the culturally familiar in divining cause and treatment and in appealing to the supernaturals for aid on the patient's behalf. His very office has divine sanction. Other folk curers share the same attributes to a lesser extent.

The doctor, on the other hand, examines and prescribes in an impersonal atmosphere and lacks the divine consent required to communicate with the supernatural world. His procedures are commonly alien to and poorly understood by Indian patients. On the positive side, medicinal preparations stemming from Western scientific medicine have been an integral part of local curing procedures for many years. This is due primarily to the efforts of pharmacists, who have dispensed medicine in San Lucas since early in the twentieth century. Since the doctor is often equated with the pharmacist, due to a perceived similarity in function, he is provided with a ready-made niche in previously established curing patterns. Simmons has commented on a similar situation in Peru and Chile, pointing out that the druggist serves as an important bridge between folk and modern medicine in the early stages of the change process (1955:69).

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# CHAPTER 6

## Medical Innovation in Highland Guatemala (III):

## Disease Prevention

> "You Americans are funny. Before you came here, if I felt like relieving myself, I found a quiet spot in the open with gentle breezes and often a pleasant vista. Then you came along and convinced me that this material that comes from me is one of the most dangerous things with which people can have contact. In other words, I should stay away from it as far as possible. Then the next thing you told me was that I should dig a hole, and not only I, but many other people should concentrate this dangerous material in that hole. So now I have even closer contact not only with my own but everyone else's and in a dark, smelly place with no view at all" (Foster 1958:15)

The Thai farmer's wry observation about a well-intended scheme to combat disease illustrates a phenomenon that medical workers in highland Guatemala will face: the most routine preventive technology seems utterly bizarre to local people who comprehend neither the germ theory of disease nor the invisible processes of human physiology. In an environment full of recognized threats--supernatural punishment, witchcraft, weak blood, and dangerous "airs"--it is foolish to bother oneself about microbes, which one cannot see, hear, touch, or smell. As a Peruvian woman pointed out to a development worker, "How can such minute animals...hurt a grown person?" (Wellin 1955:92). She had attended several lectures given by a government health service doctor, but nothing she had heard had impressed her as a valid argument for boiling the water from the local irrigation ditch before drinking it.

> How, she argues, can microbes fail to drown in water? Are they fish? If they are so small that they cannot be seen or felt, how can such delicate things survive in water? Even in the cleanest water, they would have no chance, let alone in dirty water. Furthermore, it is really a quality of the disease itself that brings sickness; if anything, it is the disease that produces the microbes and not the reverse (Wellin 1955:92).

Guatemala has the highest infant mortality rate of any Central American country: 91.5 per 1,000 live births. The national death rate--16.6 per 1,000--also exceeds that of any nation in Central America. The rates are higher, too, than those of most of South America. And the statistics for Indians are grimmer even than the national average indicates. In village after village, half the children normally die at an early age. Huge families of obviously-malnourished children are part of the rural scene: couples commonly have eight or more babies to make sure that three or four will survive to help work the land. Environmental sanitation is wretchedly poor by Western standards: in many areas of the countryside, water for drinking and cooking is taken from open drainage ditches, stagnant ponds, public wells, and streams--all easily contaminated. Human excrement and garbage are thrown into yards and fields.

Development workers, aghast at the flaunting of scientifically-proven preventive measures, want to impress the Indians with the need for sanitary facilities and precautions.*

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*The Indians, of course, have their own devices for warding off illness, based mostly upon traditional ideas about magic and the supernatural. Sometimes local preventive practices

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They try to improve the Indian diet, especially the children's, because good nutrition is known to build disease resistance. They launch maternal health programs; they explain about birth control; they bring in serums and try to vaccinate whole populations. They plan ways to build modern structures to protect water supplies, and, most of all, they try to get the Indians to use latrines.

But Indian notions of prevention are very different from Western ones, and Indian interpretations of Western medical procedures are sometimes startling. In 1963, an INI medical team was nearly lynched by Tzotzil Indians in Chiapas, Mexico, during a typhus epidemic. An INI doctor had taken a blood sample from a man, who died later the same afternoon. The Indians blamed the INI doctor; they said he had taken away the man's spirit in

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offer entry points for more scientific procedures, but more often the opposite is true. It is hard to convince people that boiling water before drinking it will prevent intestinal infections, when they are sure that such diseases are inflicted by supernatural forces as punishment for religious transgressions. And the suggestion that shots can prevent certain ailments may impress the listener as an absurdity if he interprets it as an assertion that there are shots against witchcraft.

his syringe. They refused any further medical aid and began to plot against the INI team. Ultimately, the doctor and nurse had to slip away in the dead of night to escape the Indians' retribution (Holland 1963:215). The incident proved the peril of proceeding with medical programs in ignorance of local beliefs; anything connected with the blood is likely to be fraught with supernatural meanings for the Indian. Also, the clinical rationale for blood sampling is inconceivable to the local people, who draw their own conclusions about the clinicians' motives.

In 1950, INCAP chose the Indian community of Magdalena, in the Department of Sacatepéquez, Guatemalan highlands, as one of five villages to participate in a food supplement project for school children. The project was to determine what supplements were required to improve the local diet. It was necessary to assemble the children together each day at a certain time so that the supplements could be administered under supervision, and at interval each child had to have a physical examination that included measuring height and weight and sampling blood.

Problems arose immediately, some of them connected with local politics. There was friction among local clinic personnel, and the country's political climate generated accusations that the project and its staff were Communists. The investigators persisted, but the children's parents grew more and more reluctant to allow the examinations. One family after another withdrew its children from the program. An anthropologist, Richard N. Adams, was called in as a consultant when it appeared that the Magdaleños were about to demand that the project staff leave the community.

Questioning revealed that the Indians had decided the INCAP program was intended to fatten their children so that they could be sent to the United States and eaten. It was "a fantasy theme common to a large portion of the Indian population in Guatemala," according to Adams (1955). There are popular tales of how Americans or Russians eat children, and parents commonly threaten unruly offspring with that fate. The idea of being devoured is, in any case, deeply ingrained in the cultural heritage of many villages, and the details of the testing program only served to raise the specter of cannibalism.* The feeding, weighing, measuring, and blood-sampling were seen by the parents as clear evidence of a grisly plot to export their children for foreign tables. Why else would total strangers want to fatten their children?

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*The idea that whites or Europeans are cannibalistic is also common among South American Indians, which suggests that the fear may date back to the cruelties of the conquest and colonization. The anthropologist Johannes

The blood sampling associated with the examinations caused more acute anxiety than anything else about the project. The field team, full of scientific concepts about the composition of blood, interpreted the Indian attitude as primitive ignorance of modern medicine. In fact, it was part of a coherent system of traditional beliefs about blood and its functions in the human body.

For the Westerner, a cut or puncture wound is unimportant; an event to be forgotten as soon as the injury has healed. For the Guatemalan Indian, "a cut is a serious matter. As he understands the functioning of the human body, blood does not come back into the system once it has been lost. If blood is

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Wilbert was met with suspicion and fear when he began his field work among the Warao, a fishing tribe of the Orinoco Delta, Venezuela. Suspicion persisted until the Indians had convinced themselves that he was not a cannibal (Wilbert 1970, personal communication).

lost, it is lost for good, and the individual is permanently weaker...blood is conceived as non-regenerative" (Adams 1955:446).

The villagers found it inconceivable that the physicians lacked such rudimentary knowledge. The doctors' reckless sampling was proof of their incompetence; the villagers

> simply could not understand why doctors who claimed to know how to make people well went around intentionally taking the blood of little children, thus making them weaker. Weakness made one more susceptible to illness, so that blood-taking was the reverse of what doctors should be doing (Adams 1955:447).

The child-fatteners, it seemed, weren't even efficient at their trade.

INCAP handled the impasse well. The agency did not attempt to eradicate the local beliefs; instead, it attempted to dissociate the belief from the project. One of the influential men of the village was casually invited to visit the INCAP headquarters in the city, where he was taken on a tour of the laboratories and given a convincing explanation of nutritional technology. The issue of blood-taking was dealt with in similar fashion. The medical team immediately cut down the frequency of sampling; it also explained the process to the Indians in terms of traditional ideas about blood.

> Since blood was considered a measure of weakness or strength, and since weakness or strength predisposed a person to be sick or well, it would follow that blood could also be a measure of whether a person was sick or well. Accordingly, the social worker began to explain the necessity for taking blood samples in terms of finding out whether the blood was sick or well. If a person had sick blood, he needed curing; if he had well blood, this was also important to know (Adams 1955:448).

Middle American Indian culture is rich in ideas about blood. As Adams and Rubel (1967:334) have written,

> Blood plays a central part in health and illness. A person's condition is often expressed in terms of whether his blood is strong or weak, hot or cold. In Yucatan blood may be weakened by evil winds; elsewhere it may be chilled.

Even psychological ailments like susto (fright) are believed to be susceptible to properties of the blood. Strong blood will help throw off susto, but it may also make a person hard to live with. Blood can fluctuate in quality, depending on outside influences: a man working and perspiring heavily in the fields is said to have strong blood. A pregnant or menstruating woman also has very strong blood; so does a person who wants something very badly. The phases of the moon affect the blood and body, strengthening them when the moon is full, weakening them when it is new (Adams 1952:15-16).

In rural Mexico, official medical workers of such organizations as INI and CNEP (the National Commission for the Eradication of Malaria) have all had problems with blood sampling, not only among Indians but also among mestizos. Mestizos often resist blood tests because they fear that the blood might be used for witchcraft; any body substance--blood, hair clippings, fingernail parings, saliva--can be used against its owner by a witch. The belief is essentially an Old World tradition, but many Indians acculturated to mestizo or Ladino ideology have incorporated it in their scheme of thought.

Blood has another significance in the Tzeltal Maya community of Tzo'ontahal, Chiapas. Rather than containing the soul or spirit, it communicates the body's state of health. It is believed that the blood passes from the heart and "talks at the joints," conveying to a skilled curer the condition and needs of the heart (J. Nash 1967:134). There is a complex curing process in which the curer "pulses" the patient: feels his pulse preliminary to making a diagnosis and devising a cure. The curer "listens to what the blood wants"; he "hears" and "sees" what is in the blood and what the blood is requesting. Once the blood has told him about the sickness, he can draw out the evil by bleeding the patient, a process that both confirms the initial diagnosis and prevents re-entry of the disease.

Bloodletting is common also among the chimanes (shamans) of Todos Santos Cuchumatán, a Mam-speaking community in northwest Guatemala (Oakes 1951:183).

Practices and beliefs connected with blood can often be traced to pre-Hispanic times. Bloodletting in the Maya area dates back at least to the sixteenth century, when Bishop Diego de Landa (1941) reported that in Yucatán "the sorcerers and physicians cured by means of bleeding at the part afflicted." In pre-conquest times, blood offerings were of great importance, and Sahagún (1951) and other chroniclers of the period immediately after the conquest wrote that Aztecs and other Indians periodically drew blood from their own earlobes, tongues, and even genitals during sacrificial rituals. If blood was conceived as non-regenerative, a person who gave his blood to the gods was offering an irreplaceable part of himself to strengthen the deities who watched over his well-being. Blood sacrifices are seen today in agricultural rituals in which chicken blood is mixed with copal.

Current beliefs about blood may have great antiquity, but they are not eternally fixed, under present conditions of acculturation and change. The case of San Lucas Tolimán (chapter 5) shows how new beliefs become part of the traditional scheme. Luceños are among those who believe that blood can be weak or strong, good or bad, scarce or abundant, depending on the parents' blood. A man who is sure he has congenitally scarce blood is not likely to agree to having it depleted by blood sampling. But ideas are changing in San Lucas; it is no longer a traditional community. Interviewers have determined that only a minority of Luceños are still wholly convinced that the condition of the blood is fixed at birth; other informants say that the nature of blood and body can be manipulated by varying diet and patterns of living. Some Indians have even lost the belief--widely distributed in Guatemala--that Indians have stronger blood than Ladinos.

How local beliefs are dealt with in the course of preventive medical programs obviously determines a great deal of the programs' success. No preventive effort can afford to proceed as if the Indian viewpoint is of no account. There have been instances, which will be cited later, of vaccination and other programs that were foisted on the Indians by physical force. Coercion generally is useless (no one can make an Indian take birth control pills or use a brand-new, government-built latrine), but even when it accomplishes some short-term goal, it generates anger and distrust that probably doom all subsequent medical innovation by outsiders to the community.

Some common-sense approaches are suggested by the Indian belief system itself. In areas where bloodletting is common in curing, there may be less resistance to blood sampling than in communities like Magdalena, where blood loss is feared. The trouble is that, traditionally, bloodletting is only done when someone is ill or thinks he has been bewitched and calls for the native curer. There may be strong resistance to outsiders who try to take blood from healthy children or adults. There is still the possibility, however, that the pulsing procedure of curers could be put to clinical use. A medical doctor who "pulsed" a patient before beginning other tests might well gain validity as a curer in the eyes of Indians accustomed to that sequence of techniques. It is possible that blood sampling could also be explained as the modern doctor's way of "listening to what the blood wants"--checking to make sure that the blood is healthy and contented.

The curer's role, though, is one that the doctor cannot wholly fill, however tactful his approach to tradition-bound people. In Arizona and New Mexico, some hospitals have accepted that Indian curers must participate in the healing process. When the shamans were excluded, many Indians continued to waste away even after they were clinically "cured." The indispensable psychological component was lacking: the hospital perhaps could remove the outward symptoms, but the magical cause--witchcraft or supernatural punishment--had not been neutralized. Only the shaman's art could do that.

There are other, very good arguments for involving the traditional curer in modern medical programs. For one thing, if outside medical practitioners do anything that can be interpreted as usurping the curer's traditional social-psychological role, there is certain to be resentment on the part of the curer--an influential figure in the community--and by other local people. To bring the shaman into the practice of Western medicine will never be easy, and how it should be done depends on the local setting and the rapport between shaman and medical workers. One solution, which has worked well in India, is to train shamans as para-medical personnel. In Mexico, some rural doctors make shamans their allies: they ask the shamans to give "power" to their medicines and instruments by invoking the supernaturals.

## FOOD AND CUSTOM

A nutritionally balanced diet is so nearly synonymous with health in the minds of Western, affluent people that it is hard to grasp how little weight those ideas have in Indian Guatemala. Food values in the U.S. are a matter of vitamins, minerals, and proteins--substances that are known to work in certain ways in the human body to support health. In the Guatemalan highlands, where magic is the basis of most ideas about preventing disease, foods have values of an entirely different order.

The Indian diet itself is alien to Western preconceptions. It consists of maize, black beans, small amounts of fresh fruit and vegetables, and coffee. It is monotonous fare, but the highlanders' ancestors based a great civilization on it. Chemical analyses of the diet have shown that it is nearer to being adequate in nutrients than was once thought. About 70 to 80 percent of the calories an Indian consumes and 60 to 70 percent of the protein comes from the staple grain food, maize. More than 80 percent of the calcium in the diet also comes from maize, because it is cooked with lime before being made into tortillas.* A good deal of the protein intake is from black beans; the main source of vitamin C is a variety of green leaves and other vegetables and fruits that are eaten regularly but in small quantities. Iron, vitamin A, and some of the vitamin B complex come from the yellow maize (Solien de González and Béhar 1966:81-82).

The trouble is that the Indian's food is deficient in some essential nutrients: vitamin A, vitamin C, and riboflavin. The study that produced evidence of the nutritional deficiencies in one Indian community also showed the diet to be adequate in calories, proteins, calcium, iron, thiamin, and niacin (Flores et al. 1964:288). The adequacies, however, were in terms of the family as a whole, not in terms of the needs of children, pregnant women, and others with special food requirements. There is abundant evidence that children, especially very young ones, do not fare as well on the Indian diet as the adults do. The child mortality rate in Guatemala for the first month of life is twice the rate in the United States. In the period from one month of age to eleven months, the death rate increases to eight times the U.S. rate, and among one-to-four-year-olds it is twenty-seven times the U.S. rate (Pan American Health Organization 1966: 38, 44). Th newborn deaths are attributable largely to inadequate prenatal and obstetrical care; also to the mothers' poor diet. During the second to eleventh month, while children are getting virtually nothing but their mothers' milk, infectious diseases (mainly respiratory and diarrheal ailments) cause many of the deaths. But after the first year--when many children are weaned from nursing--"nutritional deficiencies, acting synergistically with the infectious diseases, account for the higher mortality rate" (Solien de González and Béhar 1966:80). Protein deficiency is prime among the dietary causes of deaths after age one.

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*Tortillas are a prime example of the virtues of traditional food preparation methods. If not for the time-honored practice of cooking corn with lime for tortillas, the Indian diet would be much lower in calcium than it is.

Nutritionists say that infants should get solid foods even during their early months of life, because milk is deficient in iron and some important vitamins. Still, the all-milk diet of the nursing baby in Indian Guatemala is far superior nutritionally to what he will eat after he is weaned. High-protein foods suitable for feeding young children are very scarce in the environment: milk and other animal products are in short supply and much too high-priced to be bought regularly or in quantity by the Indians. Also, facilities for transporting and preserving animal products are very limited if they exist at all. If a family buys milk, it may very well be contaminated or spoiled.* So toddlers typically are fed a low-protein, low-vitamin diet of tortillas, bread (when available), broth or bean juice, starchy cereals, and sometimes a little mashed fruit or vegetable. They are deprived of certain foods in the family diet--beans in particular--that could give them some additional protein. They do not get even the little that the environment can provide in the way of a balanced diet; they are less well-nourished than the other members of their families. And they must make an abrupt switch from mother's milk to low-protein foods with little or no milk. At the same time, they are beginning to walk and are allowed to play without supervision in yards used as outdoor latrines by humans and animals. They are exposed to new sources of disease just at the time when their diet decreases in quality.*

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*Because the Indians' environment cannot now provide adequate animal protein, very little can be accomplished by trying to teach mothers the benefits of a Western-style baby diet. To indoctrinate women about the virtues of milk and meat when they have no way to get those foods will not help children who need immediate improvement in their diet if they are to

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develop normally. Instead, scientific principles of nutrition must be applied in terms of what the environment has to offer; the evidence is that non-perishable food supplements, compounded of cheap plant proteins, may be the answer (see section on "Food and Custom: Some Solutions").

*If Indian children survive to the age of three or four, they begin to eat what the adults do and are better-nourished. By that time, however, their development has been retarded at a crucial stage by nutritional deficiencies, in combination with recurrent illnesses. Although the growth rate after the third or

Child care differs, of course, from one local group to another, depending a good deal on the extent of acculturation. Traditional Indians commonly nurse children for at least eighteen months; often for three or four years. Ladino mothers, however, sometimes begin weaning when the child is only six to eight months old. Early weaning may not be detrimental to the child, and it may even be good for the mother--_if_ the child can be adequately nourished otherwise. Unfortunately, among Indians and lower-class Ladinos, parents usually are not economically or educationally equipped to provide either essential substitutes for mother's milk or minimally adequate hygienic conditions for preparing them. The problem is particularly acute in Latin American cities, where Indian and lower-class, non-Indian migrants tend to imitate urban mothers' early weaning and bottle feeding (Solien de González and Béhar 1966).

Acculturation and changes in traditional practices can create additional nutritional problems. The dilemma was neatly stated by

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fourth year accelerates to nearly the U.S. or European level, Indian children remain two or three years behind those standards because of early stunting. An especially disturbing fact is that physical growth is not the only kind that is stunted; severe malnutrition also causes varying degrees of mental retardation.

anthropologist George M. Foster:

> Primitive and peasant peoples have learned with surprising frequency to exploit their environment to obtain a relatively balanced diet ...chile peppers offer the Vitamin C that other peoples obtain from citrus fruits. Herbs, generally used as seasoning rather than as food itself, have been found to play an important role in bringing daily vitamin intake up to at least minimum recommended standards. But when the subsistence farmer in Mexico, and in other countries as well, changes to wage labor or grows a cash crop, his wife must learn to think of meals in terms of a market and of the allocation of limited funds to alternate food choices. Her dietary food wisdom, built up over many generations, is of limited value in the new setting. Somehow, through education and experience, she must relearn the principles of a balanced diet, this time in terms of family budget rather than environment; and until she learns these principles, she and her family will probably eat less well than their forerunners did (Foster 1958:12).

Foster's point about the ingeniousness of traditional exploitation of the environment is not romanticism. The conservatism of Indians about any changes in their eating habits has more than once protected them against ill-reasoned schemes to improve their lot. In the Mezquital Valley in central Mexico, there was an attempt to get workers on a government project to begin drinking milk instead of their native *pulque*, the fermented juice of the agave cactus. The workers stuck to their *pulque*, insisting that the milk gave them indigestion. It might be assumed that they were reluctant to give up the slightly intoxicating effects of their native drink, which their ancestors had used in pre-Hispanic times and considered sacred. (Milk, of course, came in with the Spaniards.) But science supported the workers: laboratory analysis proved that *pulque* was high in vitamin C. To substitute milk for the drink of the ancients would have created a vitamin deficiency more damaging than the low protein intake that the milk was supposed to remedy (Aguirre Beltrán 1955:59).

For a multitude of reasons, habit and the resources of the local environment must be taken into account by anyone who intends to improve Indian nutrition. There has been a good deal of naïve enthusiasm for head-on efforts to persuade traditional people to add milk, meat, and other foods to their customary diet. By Western reasoning, the thing to do has been to gather the women of a community together for cooking classes and nutrition discussion groups, where they can supposedly be taught the need for unfamiliar foods and given a taste for them. It is an approach that assumes the Western ideas will fill a vacuum; that the Indians, because they don't know what the outsiders do about nutrition, don't have any ideas about it at all. But they do. They have more than ideas; they have a complex system of beliefs about the properties of foods, and they have faith in their own traditions to protect them from sickness and harm. They feel safer with the familiar, and they have their own opinions about what constitutes a proper meal and what sits well on the stomach. The sophisticated innovator will not try to change local eating patterns until he thoroughly understands existing food preferences and the reasoning behind them. He may have to spend months in friendly discussion before people trust him enough even to discuss such things openly. He must recognize that even if the Indians can be made to recognize the dietary value of an innovation in food, it may conflict hopelessly with religious prohibitions. The Maya of Chamula, Mexico, for example, raise sheep and use their wool and dung, but do not eat them. They believe that the sheep is the companion animal of San Juan (St. John), the mythical ancestor and patron deity of the community. The belief is a mixture of ancient Maya and sixteenth-century Spanish Catholic ideas, but it is embedded in time beyond memory, and the improver who suggests slaughtering and eating sheep is speaking sacrilege. One wonders how Indians in various parts of the world have interpreted the outsiders who made "practical" suggestions of that kind in the past. At best, the local people probably dismissed the foreigners as uncivilized folk who didn't know the simplest precepts of a decent life. At worst, they may well have considered them some sort of near-cannibal heretics. Surely no sensible person would let his life be influenced by the notions of such ill-taught beings.

Simply to give tradition-bound people the foods that are supposed to improve their diet is not the answer either. Even if the food is used, it may be in ways undreamed-of by the givers. After World War II, the United Nations Food and Rehabilitation Agency (UNFRA) delivered thousands of pounds of American-made powdered milk to Yugoslavia. An American journalist who was invited by UNFRA to observe its efforts in Yugoslavia returned an indignant report that local Communist authorities were feeding the milk to pigs, not to badly-nourished peasant children. American readers of the report were shocked, the political overtones were explosive, and an investigation was made. It turned out that the Communist authorities had simply distributed the milk to the peasants. UNFRA's assumption had been that existing conditions of acute food shortage and malnutrition would induce the peasants to recognize the valu of the powdered milk and develop a taste for it. But the local people's customary diet had never in history included milk, and they had no idea how the powdered form might be used as human food. In prewar years, before most of the cattle were destroyed during battle, cow's and goat's milk had always been fed to baby pigs to make them grow better. Now there was only the powdered milk on hand, but the peasants saw its possibilities in their own way. They did the familiar and, in their view, responsible thing. They had only one cash product--the pigs--and to the pigs they fed the foreign milk.

Animal's milk not only is not seen as suitable human food in large areas of the world; in some places it is considered very dangerous. Before the Spanish Conquest, the New World had none of the milk-producing domestic animals of the Old World. Cattle, goats sheep, and burros were introduced by the Spaniards, but to this day even the Indians who own such animals use their milk only sporadically. Milk was not part of the ancestral diet and there are certain taboos against it based on religion. In the Department of Sololá, near Lake Atitlán in highland Guatemala, growing children are allowed to eat anything except milk from animals. Cow's, burro's, and goat's milk are all equally prohibited. The people of Sololá believe that when a child grows old, dies, and goes to meet his Creator, he will appear in the form of the animal whose milk he drank. Only mother's milk can be safely consumed, if the child is not to enter the afterworld as a hoofed quadruped (Instituto Indigenista Nacional 1968:102). A Peace Corps Volunteer, however, misunderstood the meaning of the milk taboo entirely. He reported that in Sololá milk is regarded by many people as a kind of medicine, to be used as a last resort when a child is visibly ill and undernourished, but not routinely as a preventive measure.

The Sololá attitude toward milk may well be related to pre-Hispanic concepts about man's relation to animals. But experience with impure milk is reason enough for its rejection in other areas. Small children fed unsanitary, improperly stored milk develop severe diarrhea, and the usual Indian interpretation is that the milk itself is the cause. The idea that the milk may be bacterially infected does not arise because the people lack the concept of infection in that sense.

Indian parents are always sensitive to their children's reactions to food. Among the highland Maya, children's likes and dislikes are usually respected. A child will not be forced to eat eggs if he dislikes them, and if he ever gets an upset stomach after eating eggs, he will not be given them later. The mother, however, will continue to offer eggs to her other children.

Unfortunately, the parents' alertness to children's varying food tolerances may work against the children in certain ways, connected with local beliefs about foods and the genesis of disease. If a child is ill, local logic dictates that he must be protected from further harm by taking out of his diet any foods he may dislike. The deleted foods may be the very ones he needs for strength and recovery. For example:

> It has been noted time and again that the child with kwashiorkor* may be deliberately deprived of meat, milk or eggs and instead given foods containing almost no protein. Under these circumstances

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*Kwashiorkor is a protein-deficiency disease that occurs in poverty areas of the world. Its visible signs are mottled depigmentation in the skin (especially noticeable in dark-skinned people), body swelling, and a reddish or bleach

> death is inevitable except in the rare case when the child is hospitalized in time and given the necessary protein-containing foods. The problem is further complicated by folk concepts of medical treatment. Purgatives are a popular remedy for any kind of diarrhoea; they are apt to be administered to the child with acute kwashiorkor because the parents believe this to be the correct treatment for his diarrhoea. Since kwashiorkor may be precipitated by the added protein loss from diarrhoea of infectious origin, it is particularly tragic that such a child is not only deprived of animal protein but also frequently given strong purgatives which accentuate the diarrhoea and the consequent protein loss (Solien and Scrimshaw 1957:100).

Solien and Scrimshaw also note that Indians often consider diarrhea, along with vomiting, irritability, and so forth, symptoms of intestinal worms. In that case, Indian mothers withhold certain protein foods, because they are thought to "stimulate" the worms. Meat and milk are considered especially dangerous because they cause the worms to "rise" or become active. Purgatives are a common treat-

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ed look to the hair. Internally, there is acute liver damage and fibrosis. If the disease goes untreated, the liver ceases to function at all; the death rate for advanced cases is about 80 percent. At an early stage, increased protein intake can save life.

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ment for worms; in fact, it is a nearly-universal practice to give newborn babies a laxative--usually oil mixed with herbs--to purge them and protect them against worms. Some groups believe that children can be born with worms and will die if they are not expelled immediately after birth. When children are older, howevever, the presence of parasites may be considered usual--even normal--and mothers take care to avoid feeding anything that might upset them. If there are symptoms that the worms have become "active," mothers will administer native remedies to expell them or to return them to a dormant state (Solien de González and Béhar 1966:86-87; Whetten 1961:226). Health workers may even meet mothers who feel strongly that their children should not be rid of worms. The argument is that the children need their worms; they are their life force, making them continually hungry and giving them the desire to eat and grow.

## HOT VERSUS COLD

Among the multitude of beliefs about foods, the question of "hot" and "cold" is probably the most confusing and illogical to non-Indians. It is also extremely important

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to Indians and, because it is central to much of their thinking about eating, illness, and pregnancy, it is an issue the outside community worker cannot afford to ignore.

As previous chapters have explained, things are classified as "hot" or "cold" without any consistent reference to their temperature, spiciness, or blandness. The system probably comes mostly from the Hippocratic concept of humors, which was introduced into the New World by Europeans in the early colonial period. It is possible also that the Hippocratic ideas were superimposed on a similar indigenous system (Adams and Rubel 1967:342). The balance of opposites was always important in Middle American ideology; it was expressed in juxtapositions like night and day, sky and earth, life and death, male and female, and so forth.

Balance is the central issue in the present system; the belief is that no one should stay for too long in either a "hot" or a "cold" state. To be healthy, one must maintain an equilibrium between the two extremes (Adams and Rubel 1967:335). That sickness can be caused by eating too many cold or hot things is a common belief in Middle America. In some areas, light-colored foods and liquids are conceived to be cold, dark-colored ones to be hot. A related idea is that only light-colored foods and drinks should be consumed in the middle of the day. The rule is complicated by certain opinions about chickens: in one place chicken meat will be a proper meal to eat at noon because it is light-colored and "cold." Elsewhere chicken is categorized as hot and avoided as a midday food. In some parts of highland Guatemala, chicken is considered categorically hot, but pork is cold (Whetten 1961:226). In some places, all vegetables are cold. Coffee and chile are generally considered hot.

The categories shift under certain circumstances. In Chinautla, just outside Guatemala City, milk is cold if the milking was done in the afternoon, warm if milking was done in the morning. Afternoon milk, which is believed to be weak and low in cream, is supposed to be useless for anything but cheese-making. Morning milk is the best for selling because it is "warm" (Reina 1966:191).

Sometimes people get around the fixed conditions of hot and cold by disguising a food or blending it with its opposite. Chicken can be covered with tomato sauce; milk can be mixed with chocolate. Indians have sometimes tried to "cool" chemical fertilizers, which they believe are very hot, by adding "cold" cattle manure. The cooled fertilizer is considered safer for the crops.

Keeping a balance is especially important for pregnant women, old or sick people, and babies or children:

> Some foods may be proscribed either because they cause indigestion or because they make the body "cold," a condition which is considered highly dangerous for any delicate person, including pregnant women, the elderly, the sick and the very young. A pregnant woman is also directed to consume large quantities of corn-meal gruel (atol), beer, sweet wine and eggs. The reasons given for consuming these items are sometimes stated in terms of the growth of the unborn child, but more often are simply magical prescriptions aimed toward "warming" the mother's body. The eating of eggs appears also to have a magical basis, the egg being considered a kind of fertility symbol, although this is not universally expressed even by those who feel they should eat them (Solien de González and Béhar 1966:85).

To suggest a new pattern of eating without first ascertaining the local hot-cold classification system is likely to bring the nutritionist up against strong resistance. If he unwittingly proposes incompatible or "unbalanced" combinations, or ones that are traditionally wrong for a particular age or state of health, he will offend local sensibilities.

## FOOD AND CUSTOM: SOME SOLUTIONS

By now it should be clear that the obstacles to improving Indian nutrition are formidable. Even in societies accustomed to rapid social change, eating habits are among the most conservative sectors of culture. Conservatism is all the more intense in societies that value traditional behavior, in which the ancestral diet is interwoven with ideas about the supernatural and about the relationship between man and nature. In Guatemala, the strict limitations of a poverty-stricken environment are compounded by fixed food beliefs and customs to frustrate all but the most carefully-devised nutritional improvement schemes.

Aguirre Beltrán (1955:72-75) has proposed a program for introducing dietary change. Among other things he advises that native foods be re-evaluated to make certain where the deficiencies lie and in what ways the present diet and food preparation methods are good. He cautions against prejudicial attitudes toward supposedly "inferior" Indian foods: tortillas may be traditional, but (as was mentioned above) the way they are prepared makes them richer in calcium than any other food made from corn. Aguirre Beltrán also advocates increasing the amount of existing foods available for consumption, but that implies very far-reaching agricultural and livestock improvement programs. Indians do raise a very few pigs and chickens, for example, but they are usually sold to bring in a little cash income. Grain foods that could be fed to livestock are badly needed for human consumption, which precludes raising many animals at one time. So the supply of meat, milk, and eggs remains low, and the price stays high. The Indians cannot afford to buy such expensive products regularly, even if they were available in quantity. To push the use of those foods is unrealistic, however valuable they may be for nutrition.

Furthermore, as has been explained, most traditional communities have very definite ideas about the value of animal products and their appropriate uses. Solien and Scrimshaw (1957:102), among others, emphasize that it is extremely difficult in any case to persuade a primitive or peasant community that illness can be prevented by eating certain foods in a certain balance. In fact, given the power and persistence of traditional patterns of thought about foods, Solien and Scrimshaw suggest that it is often better "to introduce a new food about which there are no prejudices" than to proselytize the virtues of meat, milk, and eggs.

What, then, are the hopeful indications for future nutrition programs? For one thing, attitudes do change, although very, very slowly. A direct attack on deeply-rooted beliefs is useless--it is likely to strengthen rather than eliminate them--but in the Indian communities that are undergoing acculturation and ladinoization, change is already visible. In the transitional community of San Lucas Tolimán, as an earlier chapter mentioned, the Indians have come to feel that the lack of meat, milk, and eggs in their diet is a drawback. They think now that the Ladino population gets a better diet and that it contributes to their superior health.

Until attitudes and customs change on a wider scale, however, there are cheering developments in newly-devised high-protein food supplements. One of the supplements is Incaparina, named after the agency that developed it--the Instituto de Nutrición de Centro América y Panamá(INCAP)--and after the Spanish word for flour, harina. Its advantages are several. It is cheap, it is made from locally-available materials, and it is produced in the form of flour to coincide with the traditional taste for atole, a beverage made of various kinds of flour mixed with water. It contains maize flour (29 percent), sorghum flour (29 percent), cottonseed flour (38 percent), torula yeast (3 percent), calcium carbonate (1 percent), and vitamin A. It is 27.5 percent protein, of biological value for humans. Its cost to the public when made into atole was figured at approximately one penny per glass.

In 1963 and 1966, Incaparina reportedly was well-known and commercially successful (Béhar 1963:388; Solien de González and Béhar 1966:91). More and more was being sold, and it was being used "not only as an atole but also for the enrichment of soups, cookies and many other dishes calling for the use of a flour" (Béhar 1963).

Béhar's report indicates that Incaparina was being used in some rather sophisticated ways, which gives a clue that perhaps it was not being used as widely as hoped in the Indian highlands, where it was needed most desperately. Even at a penny a glass, Incaparina is too expensive to be widely adopted among Indian families. It is true that by 1969, Incaparina was accepted--but by the rising urban middle

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class and by Ladino families in rural areas. Except for regional pockets where there were nutrition projects specifically for Indians, INCAP's valuable protein supplement was a rarity, rather than the rule, for the Indian population. The general situation probably was accurately reflected by a Peace Corps Volunteer's 1968 report: he wrote that Indians in his area regarded Incaparina as a medicinal substance, to be used when a child was seriously ill but not as a regular nutriment.

Still, Incaparina holds some promise for Indian communities. Because it resembles locally-popular flours and can be used in familiar dishes, it might be easier to persuade Indians to use it than to use wholly-unfamiliar protein supplements like fish flour.* Various other food supplements are also being tested in the U.S. and elsewhere, and without proper evaluation it is hard to predict what might catch on in the highlands.** The way in which

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*Prepared from ground fish and dried to a powder, it is said to be tasteless and odorless. It is designed to be mixed with low-protein foods like rice and cereals, which are the mainstay of meals in less-affluent communities of the world.

**A woman with four years' experience as a community development worker in Chimaltenango, highland Guatemala, offered some interesting

Incaparina or another supplement is introduced into the community is certainly one thing that will determine its success. If it is presented to the people with understanding of their cultural biases, with respect for their traditions, and with sensitive awareness of their reactions; if its possibilities are explained and demonstrated in terms that they can connect with their lives; if it appeals to their tastes, then it may become a part of their daily food. But no supplement, and no amount of education, will work as it should if it requires the Indians to spend money that they do not have. If newly-developed food supplements cannot be offered to the local people at a cost within their means, then perhaps it is wiser to investigate indigenous

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observations about making new foods appeal to Indians. She said that Incaparina might have been more popular had it not been presented in a form reminiscent of traditional food. Had it been offered as a prestige or novelty product--as cookies, crackers, or even teething biscuits for babies--it would have had status value for the Indians. She noted also that Indians like sweets and whenever they have a centavo will give it to their children to buy candy from local vendors. Prepared as a confection, she thought, Incaparina would have been more appealing. Her remarks, however, probably apply mostly to transitional communities where people are anxious to associate themselves with Ladino norms of behavior and consumption.

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possibilities for improving the diet that would require no cash outlay. In that event, Aguirre Beltrán's advice to re-evaluate traditional foods is sound; so is his suggestion to reintroduce familiar crops and foods that have for various reasons disappeared from the environment.

## PRENATAL AND MATERNAL CARE

It is obvious that if children are to develop normally, they must get a good start prenatally. Mothers must be properly nourished during pregnancy and afterward, during lactation; they must be checked during their pregnancy to be sure that they are in sound health and there are no abnormalities that can affect the fetus; and they must deliver under sanitary conditions, with medical help at hand or on call in case the delivery goes badly. The infant mortality rates cited in the preceding section on nutrition give some idea of the gap between those ideal conditions and the ones under which Guatemalan Indian babies actually come into the world. Typically, Indian mothers are never examined by a medical doctor during their pregnancies; their diet during and after pregnancy is deficient; no one is on hand during deliveries except a midwife; expert medical personnel are not summoned until emergencies have become critical, and sometimes not then; and the mothers refuse to enter hospitals even when they are obviously very ill. Besides that, it is common for women to bear eight or ten children before they are thirty, with the natural consequences for maternal and infant health.

The health worker's task in dealing with mothers is delicate. For one thing, the majority of Indian women do not speak Spanish. They speak only the *lengua indígena*, the native Indian language of their particular region. A few speak a little Spanish, but it is unlikely that they will feel at ease discussing intimate matters with an outsider in a language they hardly know. Medical and social workers who do not know the local language probably will be able to treat only those women who are progressive, curious, or desperate enough to come to them, and communication will be minimal. Woods is right when he says (chapter 5) that the problem with outside medical personnel is too often that they lack the skills or the inclination to instill in their patients the proper psychological confidence and intimacy. "Outside" means, of course, not only international development personnel but also non-Indian nationals, who are equally foreign to the local community.

Even language fluency is not guaranteed to smooth the way for simple, straightforward, Western-style doctor-patient relationships. For one thing, Indian women are violently embarrassed at the idea of appearing without clothing before a strange male, doctor or no doctor. They find it absolutely incredible that the doctor expects them to allow him to perform a pelvic examination. A decent woman's _pudor_ (modesty or virtue) would never permit such a thing, and her community, from which she has learned her sense of propriety, would be shocked. In many parts of highland Guatemala, prenatal examinations by male medical personnel simply cannot be done under any circumstances.

It would be best if all community workers in maternal health care programs were female. But women doctors are in short supply. So female nurses and social workers are essential to rural medical projects, because they can act as intermediaries between doctor and patient. Mothers are more willing to discuss with them problems that arise during pregnancy, and the female workers can explain a male doctor's instructions to the patients. Within traditional social restrictions, it is possible for female personnel to develop rapport with Indian mothers, within the clinical setting and in follow-up visits to their homes.

No one should assume, though, that *any* outsider will easily be accepted into Indian homes when birth is taking place. Young, unmarried Indian girls traditionally are not allowed to witness births, and from the local point of view, young single nurses generally come under the same category. "A señorita shouldn't see such things," the family will say as they bar the doorway. One Peace Corps Volunteer nurse in the central highlands reported in evident frustration that time and again she was not permitted to use her skills to assist in deliveries; in fact, she was often excluded when the time of birth drew near. On one occasion, as she sat with a midwife beside a woman in labor, the husband asked her to leave. His wife, he explained, thought the nurse was giving her the evil eye.

Besides that, Indians respect age, which to them implies knowledge and wisdom. Peace Corps Volunteers' youth tends to work against easy acceptance. And if the Volunteer is an unmarried woman, her patients find it easy to ignore her suggestions: what does *she* know about pregnancy or taking care of babies? Being an outsider may help her in that situation, because it may partially absolve her from the expectation of personal experience. Also, outsiders are usually treated with deference, and so her professional authority may be reinforced. But there are all kinds of possibilities. Behind her back, the women of the community may say that the outsider's knowledge may work for her and her people, but what has it to do with Indians? What does she know of Indian ways? Of course, if she demonstrates a knowledge of local customs and beliefs, her "foreign" ideas may be less easily dismissed.

Beliefs about the proper foods for pregnant women have been touched upon in the preceding section on nutrition. Much more should be said, because custom often interferes in specific ways with good prenatal nutrition. The prohibitions differ from community to community, of course. In El Palmar, for example, pregnant women are supposed to avoid milk, not only because it will "cool" their bodies but because it causes excessive urination (Saler 1960:63). The expectant mother must drink special chocolate concoctions for strength, and she must never eat anything that is distasteful to her because it is likely to induce an abortion (Saler, Ibid.). In Sololá, a pregnant woman cannot eat any type of citrus fruit because it would make her child slobber excessively after birth. She cannot eat mangos lest the baby be born with a twisted mouth. If she eats sunza--a local fruit--her child will suffer from an illness that causes scales on the body. But whenever she has the desire for a particular food she must satisfy it; otherwise the baby will be born desiring everything: he will go around with his mouth open (Instituto Indigenista Nacional 1968:102).

All cultures have folk beliefs about food during pregnancy; in the U.S., women are expected to have prenatal cravings for peculiar food combinations. The point to remember is that in traditional cultures the validity of such beliefs is not questioned, and they are taken very seriously by mothers who want healthy, normal children. It is absolutely essential that health workers familiarize themselves with local food traditions before suggesting additions to prenatal or postnatal diet. Sensitivity to beliefs and taboos will protect outsiders from making the grievous error of trying to impose their ideas as a blanket solution. To urge an expectant mother in Sololá to eat plenty of oranges, for example, could be taken as an insult: what mother would want her child to be a slobberer? Or it might be taken as another evidence of the outsider's ignorance of proper prenatal precautions.

But once having accepted that it is useless to try to force Western ways on Indian women, how can medical workers accomplish anything constructive in the way of change? Probably the best course--once the customs of a particular community are understood--is to try approaches that weld together traditional and modern beliefs. In El Palmar, for example, where pregnant women are supposed to drink quantities of atole, there is an ideal opportunity to persuade them that the gruel can be even more beneficial if it is mixed with Incaparina. Possibly Incaparina could also become one of the special substances that pregnant women are supposed to consume, or could be added to the traditional chocolate drinks.

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Indian women's attitude toward hospitals creates some of the most frustrating and distressing situations that the medical worker faces. When birth is approaching, it is the native midwife, not the trained nurse or doctor, who is called in to attend. It is agonizing to wait while a woman suffers through hours of a difficult labor, only to be called in when there is no hope for the child or when the mother is hemorrhaging heavily. Midwives--who, in general, are capable and deal successfully with even some kinds of difficult deliveries--often will not call in outside medical help until the case is very critical.* When the nurse is finally called, her acceptance by the community is likely to hinge upon the outcome of that one difficult delivery. It is an unjust state of affairs, partly because the nurse may be powerless to resolve complications that local facilities simply cannot handle, but it is reality.

One Peace Corps Volunteer nurse in the highlands was summoned to a home where she found a woman kneeling in labor; in the customary fashion, the midwife was in front of the mother and the husband in back. Delivery in a kneeling position has significant advantages, one of them being that gravity works with labor to expel the child, but in that particular case it was unsuitable, and the nurse, with difficulty, managed to get the woman into her bed. There the baby was delivered, alive, but the mother retained the placenta. She began hemorrhaging badly, and the nurse urged that she go to the hospital. For six hours, while the woman lost quantities of blood, the Volunteer tried to convince the relatives that hospitalization was essential. Finally the relatives consented, and the mother survived. Had she died, community reaction could have been counted upon to force the nurse to leave. At the very least, the Indian community would have been confirmed in its conviction that people go to the hospital only to die.

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*There is evidence, however, that more and more traditional midwives are willing to refer patients with complications to a hospital or clinic with the facilities to handle them.

It is very likely that some of the local people, if not all, felt that the placenta would never have been retained if the woman had not been moved to her bed instead of bearing her child in the usual way. The husband, in fact, claimed that *aires* (malevolent spirits in the form of winds or "airs") entered the room with the nurse.

To an Indian woman, giving birth in a Western-style hospital is unnatural and frightening. The hospital routine is alien and disorienting; the atmosphere is cold, lonely, and antiseptic, and her family is kept away most of the time. The clinical procedures are incomprehensible and alarming. Even when the procedures are explained to her, they make litt sense; her native tongue lacks the proper terms and her traditional ideas conflict with scientific cause-and-effect. She is expected to deliver lying on her back, which contradicts everything she knows about how to give birth. It may even be physically uncomfortable for her, and she cannot understand why she is being put through such inconveniences when she herself--and her mother and friends--know a much better way.

The hospital's treatment of the newborn child does not suit her, either. She believes that the placenta and umbilical cord must be given ritual treatment or else she and the child will suffer. Customs differ from region to region, but nearly everywhere the placenta is disposed of ritually. Most commonly it is taken away and buried in a special place; in Sololá it is either buried or burned. People say that if it were simply thrown away, wild animals or dogs would devour it--a sacrilege certain to bring down supernatural punishment. Either the child would become mentally ill or the mother's future children would be born looking like the animal that ate the placenta (Instituto Indigenista Nacional 1968:101).

The idea that the placenta should not be casually discarded apparently derives from a belief that it continues to be a part of a person throughout his life. Forty years ago in

Santiago Chimaltenango, every man had to know where his placenta was buried, because if he ever became ill the shaman was likely to prescribe that offerings be made in front of the room where the patient was bathed for the first time and where "the placenta lives." In those days, it was customary to bury the placenta in the family temascal (steam bath). So important was the custom that if a child was born away from home, on a trip or while the parents were working as seasonal laborers on a coffee plantation, the placenta had to be dried by cooking so that it could be taken home for burial in the temascal (Wagley 1957: 129-30). The practice has died out in many areas, but the importance of burying the placenta in a special place persists.

Beliefs about the afterbirth have weakened, however, in the transitional Maya community of El Palmar. There, the placenta is disposed of in the most convenient way: by burying, or by simply throwing it into a river that flows through a nearby ravine. The people of El Palmar no longer fear that the supernaturals will punish them for failing to carry out the traditional ritual of disposal.

The umbilical cord is ceremonially cut in highland Chiapas. If the child is a boy, the cord is cut over the head of an axe, so that he will know how to cut trees. If the baby is a girl, the midwife cuts the cord over a metate (grinding stone), so she will know how to grind maize (Holland 1963:160). In El Palmar, the part of the cord attached to the baby after cutting is rubbed with oil and tied tightly with rags so that "no air will get in the baby's stomach and cause it to die." Later, the spot is rubbed with hot oil or hot wax (Saler 1960:64).

Binding an infant's navel with rags seems recklessly unhygienic, but traditional treatment of the umbilical cord actually has been very effective in preventing tetanus neonatorum* among Guatemalan Indians. After the midwife cuts the cord, she ties the end attached to the infant; then she cauterizes it with a blade heated red-hot in the fire. Finally, she applies a bit of hot candle wax. In the Guatemalan government's public health training program for midwives, however, they are taught the modern aseptic procedure for treating the umbilical cord--an example of the damage that can be wrought by ignoring the merits of traditional practices. Under the conditions in which midwives work--home deliveries in a highly non-sterile setting--it is virtually impossible to apply aseptic techniques, and the government training program makes no mention of cauterization. Modern medicine, in this instance, probably does more harm than good, by discouraging a convenient, effective preventive technique that is ideally adapted to the situation (Solien de González and Béhar 1966:85-86).

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*Tetanus in the newborn child. Tetanus, a disease that is fatal in most cases, occurs when the bacillus Clostridium tetani is introduced through a wound--in this case the severed umbilical cord.

There are still other rituals for disposing of the cord after it dries and falls off. In Sololá, if the child is a boy, the cord is placed high up in a tree, so that the boy will be able to climb trees and cut wood, or it is tied to the handle of a hoe or an axe so that he will like work. If the infant is a girl, the cord is tied to a metate so that she will learn to grind, or to the sticks of the loom so she will learn to weave. Or it may be buried in the homestead to make her home-loving (Instituto Indigenista Nacional 1968:101). In El Palmar, the customs are similar. When the cord drops off, it is buried at the base of a tree or put in its branches if the child is a boy; if the child is a girl, the cord is usually suspended from an inconspicuous spot on one of the ceiling rafters or from the ceiling itself. The usual explanation is simply that "it is the custom," but further probing reveals that the rationale is similar to that at Sololá (Saler 1960:64-65).

In Todos Santos Cuchumatán, a shaman disposes of the umbilical cord:

> When the baby is twenty days old, the chimán (shaman) takes the umbilical cord, wrapped in its special cloth, and if it is a boy, he goes to the mountains and puts the cord in the hollow of a tree or ties it to a limb; if a girl, he goes to a marshy or wet spot and there, with his planting stick, makes a hole in the earth, puts the cord in, and covers the opening with a small rock (Oakes 1951:42).

There are other ritual reasons for women's resistance to hospitalization. In conservative Indian communities, from the seventh month of pregnancy onward an expectant mother takes weekly steam baths in the temascal. After she gives birth, a steam bath is likely to be part of the procedure intended to start her milk flowing. If the mother suffers pains after the birth, or if the delivery is a difficult one with complications, she will take a bath in the temascal as part of the cure. In Todos Santos, mothers take a sweat bath, with the midwife's help, on the day of birth. For the next twenty days (the period of confinement, when new mothers must do no work), they must take a sweat bath every second or third day, depending on the midwife's advice (Oakes 1951:42). In many communities, newborn babies are given sweat baths in the _temascal_ when they are ten days old.

Hospitals are unlikely to favor sweat baths for their maternity patients, and it is hard to see how the _temascal_ could ever become a part of the maternity ward. But the institution of sweat-bathing is at least 2,000 years old in Indian America, and it is still important in both cleanliness and traditional curing. During the great influenza epidemic of 1918, public health authorities decided that the _temascales_ were partly to blame for the spread of the disease and ordered that they all be destroyed; later, the custom revived. The authorities' concern about epidemics seem to have had some foundation in fact: as recently as 1951, children "died like flies" during a measles epidemic in Todos Santos, "mainly because the Indians put their sick children in the sweat baths, and most of them caught pneumonia when they came out" (Oakes 1951:83-84). The Catholic church has tried to weed sweat-bathing out of the native culture for "moral" reasons, and for many years the state has levied a special tax on temascales in the hope that it will put an end to them. But in the places where they are falling into disuse, the causes are ladinoization and the pressures of urban society.

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There are many points of Indian maternity customs that seem to be irreconcilable with modern medical practice, and some of them undoubtedly are. But it is the business of the medical innovator to use whatever opportunities exist or can be created for making medical care acceptable to the people who need it. Sometimes all that is really required is flexibility. For example, the organizers of some maternal health programs in Guatemala have decided not to make an issue of pelvic examinations, in the interest of keeping groups of women together for discussions of eating habits and child care. Hospitals and clinics organized and run on the Western pattern have proved uncongenial to Indian patients, so the Chimaltenango hospital run by Dr. Carroll Behrhorst has incorporated everything it can of the Indians' life patterns. Whole families are allowed--even encouraged--to live in a sick relative's room and to help take care of his physical needs, including cooking for him. The doctors' and nurses' role is limited to administering medication and other strictly medical tasks. Not only has Dr. Behrhorst's hospital reduced local resistance to hospitalization, it has also cut down on its own maintenance costs as well. Its example is one that no hospital in Indian Guatemala should ignore.

Even traditional rituals for disposing of the placenta and umbilical cord can be reconciled with modern hospital care. Indian communities of Mexico share the Guatemalan Indians' concern with the fate of the placenta, and some understanding administrators of hospitals along the border between Mexico and the United States have arranged to give the placent to any family that shows an interest in disposing of it in the traditional way (Aguirre Beltrán 1955:168). To do so does not in any way compromise medical integrity, and, because it is a factor in whether or not births will take place under safe conditions, it is certainly in the best interest of the patients.

## BIRTH CONTROL

Guatemala shares with other Latin American countries a population growth rate that is one of the highest in the world. The annual growth rate in 1967 was 3.1 percent, as compared to the U.S. rate of 1.1 percent, and the birth rate was 46-48 per 1,000, compared to the U.S. rate of 18.5 per 1,000. According to the Population Reference Bureau (1968), if growth continues at the present rate, Guatemala's population will double in twenty-three years. As it is, in the highlands, not enough food of the right kinds is produced to properly nourish the existing Indian population. The land shortage is acute: every year, tens of thousands of Indians migrate to the coast in search of work, because their landholdings, divided and redivided over generations, have become too small to support families. The birth rate is part of the land problem: when an already-minimal plot is divided among several sons, there is not enough for any of them. Besides, in many areas the soil is eroded and exhausted, and there simply is not enough good land for the next generation to inherit. So, unwillingly, the Indians leave their ancestral lands and go to the coastal plantations for wage work. Some end up in city slums. Alienated, disoriented, and separated from all that is meaningful to them, they survive. Before, they were poor but proud in their heritage and their time-honored way of life; now they are just poor.

Simply cutting down on family size cannot reverse the forces that drive the Indians off their land. Division of landholdings has passed the point of no return: the situation cannot be improved by controlling births, but it can be made worse by uncontrolled population growth.

Family planning programs, however, are valid in the highlands only if they operate within a comprehensive program of health care. Indian women commonly bear eight or ten children apiece, it is true, but with the high rate of infant and child mortality it is unlikely that more than three or four of them will survive to adulthood. So families have no assurance that the children they already have will live, and to artificially prevent more from being born does not seem practical to them. Having so many children, of course, means in this poverty-ridden environment that all of them will probably be malnourished, which is itself a cause of child deaths. But from the Indian point of view, it is only reasonable to have many children and be fairly sure that some will survive than to take the chance of being left childless in a setting where infant deaths have been commonplace for as long as anyone can remember.

Parental fears can only be calmed, and contraception made generally acceptable, if medical care and nutrition improve to the extent that most of the babies who are born survive. But any health program that keeps infants alive will initially cause a jump in population, because contraception cannot be put into universal use instantly. The upshot is that there must be effective medical care before birth control will be accepted, and there must be birth control to offset modern medicine's inflationary effect on population size.

There are still other stumbling blocks to family planning. Even in remote rural communities, people have by now heard of artificial contraception. They may not know how it is done, but they know that it can be done. But having children is traditionally valued; it is considered natural and desirable. Economically, offspring are needed to work the land; if they live past early childhood, they become an economic asset because they increase their family's labor force. For their parents, they represent security in old age, because old people are respected and cared for by younger members of the family and community. And, in a harsh life with few indulgences, they are a pleasure and a gratification. The children playing on the dirt floor of the hut and in the courtyard, and the baby on the mother's back, all brighten a difficult life.

Besides, from the local point of view, it is a woman's purpose to bear and raise children. Some Indian groups (the Mixtec of Mexico, for example) believe that the doors of heaven will not open for a woman who dies without having borne a child. The Tarahumara of northern Mexico have a similar belief about childless men (Aguirre Beltrán 1955:77). In many Indian communities of Guatemala, a young couple is not accorded adult status until they have produced a child (cf. Bunzel 1952:98; Aguirre Beltrán 1955:77; Whetten 1961:251). The "unwed mother" does not have to face community disapproval; on the contrary, proving her fertility is a good way to get a husband. She may not marry her lover, but her pregnancy assures her a husband: men are pleased by proof of fertility (Wagley 1957:132; Aguirre Beltrán 1955:78). Sterility is considered an ailment, a supernatural punishment that can be treated by atoning for the sin, by prayers and offerings, by eating or drinking "hot" substances, or by applying ointments. If all the remedies fail, then the woman is blamed, and her husband is likely to leave her (Aguirre Beltrán 1955:78).

In Chimaltenango, if a married woman does not bear children, the cause is presumed to be adultery. Husbands never believe that the sterility could be on their side; if they do not leave their wives and marry others, they often bring a second wife into the home. If a man has had several different wives and still has not fathered a child, he usually will adopt one or more (Wagley 1957:123-24).

The local attitudes and beliefs being what they are, it will not be easy for an Indian woman to flaunt community opinion by using contraceptives. If she uses them to cease bearing, or even if she uses them only to space out her children, there may be suspicion that she has done something to deserve supernatural punishment or that she is an adulteress. Also, in a male-dominated society where men are eager to father children, it is unlikely that many women will even discuss birth control with medical workers--let alone practice it--without prior permission from their husbands.

Religion also creates problems. Most Indians are at least nominally Catholics, and the church is known to be opposed to artificial birth control. Among traditional communities, indigenous customs and attitudes carry more weight in religious matters than the edicts of the Vatican, even reinforced by the local priest. Catholicism is a stronger force among less traditional, more progressive elements; for example, members of Catholic Action. They are more open to change, but they are also inclined to take the teachings of the local priest more seriously.

Even politics enters into the issue of birth control, and although medical workers who deal with groups of mothers in the highlands probably will never be involved in national policy debates, there are certain related attitudes that are expressed even at the community level. It is a good thing to be aware of them.

The motives of a large, powerful country suggesting that a smaller, weaker one limit its population are bound to be called into question. Some nationalists declare that a developing nation needs a large population to help it emerge as an economically and politically powerful modern country. The nationalists uphold the old argument that the "empty" countryside should be populated in order to increase productivity and strengthen the nation in question.

More recently, some respected ecologists have suggested that it is not the poor who should curtail their numbers, but the rich, because the rich, with their technology and their consumption, have the great impact on the environment. There are statistics to back up the argument; the United States, for example, has only 5.7 percent of the world's population, but it consumes 40 percent of the earth's natural resources.

Shriller voices on the political scene have charged that introducing birth control into developing countries is disguised colonialism and genocide. That charge has been leveled at population planners on the national level in Guatemala and other countries where one ethnic sector wields greater political, economic, and social power than other ethnic groups. In the United States, the accusation of genocide has come from blacks who object to family planning programs in the ghettos. In any situation that involves an assumed superior-inferior relationship based on ethnic background, where the "superior" group (in Guatemala, the Ladinos) demonstrates patronizing, condescending attitudes toward the "inferior" one (the Indians), the less privileged group is likely to be justifiably suspicious and fearful of almost any plan that affects its status. It is unrealistic to expect that a birth control drive in the populous regions of Guatemala, where the Indians are concentrated, will be immediately understood as an attempt to improve living conditions. Illiterate rural people are not likely to see the implications of contraception in terms of abstractions like "colonialism" or "genocide," but they will instinctively perceive a threat to their traditional way of life. They have behind them a history of oppression and exploitation; of the real threat of extinction at the hands of the Spanish colonizers and from the diseases they brought. Aguirre Beltrán, in fact, cites the Indians' post-conquest history as a reason for their present pattern of early marriages and for the value they place on procreation (1955:79-80). There is nothing absurd in a small, ethnically distinct group's fear that to voluntarily limit the size of its families is to acquiesce in its own extinction.

Only experience will dispel the fears: experience that the children who are born will live and that the existing communities will continue. Unless there are effective local health facilities, and unless they are accepted and used, these things cannot be guaranteed. As it is, outsiders who want to introduce birth control will have to work around the barriers of attitude and environment.

Despite the emphasis on large families

and the social importance of childbearing, there is evidence that some Indian women are receptive to information about ways to prevent pregnancy.* The likeliest candidates are mothers with several surviving children (Stycos 1965:54), preferably with at least one son. These women have proved their fertility to their husbands, and they have experienced the trials of childbearing. They may want to stop having children altogether, or they may want to space out their next pregnancies. They should be made aware that either option is open to them, and they may be receptive to the idea that spacing out the births is better for their health and the babies'.

Health workers who introduce birth control should, of course, be women, and ideally they should have children of their own. Otherwise, their motives will be suspect; Indian women are likely to conclude that a childless woman is infertile and jealous of their good fortune in having many children. Jealousy, of course, is believed to be involved in witchcraft, and it is not as improbable as it seems that local women, unable to imagine why a foreigner would travel many miles to talk to them about having babies, will conclude that her motives are evil.

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*Contraception and abortion were part of traditional life in many Indian societies of North and South America long before modern medicine was introduced. Plant extracts are still used by the women of some of those societies, and, although few have been tested scientifically, the Indians swear to their effectiveness. In Argentina, however, a plant infusion used by Araucanian Indian women to induce temporary sterility has proved in laboratory tests to be remarkably effective and to have no apparent adverse effects on subsequent fertility.

The non-Indian health worker also will find it difficult to arouse and hold the interest and confidence of Indian women unless she speaks their native language. In many regions, as was mentioned above, most women speak no Spanish or speak it haltingly. It is hard enough for them to discuss with an outsider the personal and private realm of relations between man and wife, involved as they are with traditions and taboos, without the added social discomfort of having to communicate in a foreign language.

The attitudes of husbands toward birth control probably are best met by involving them in whatever program is set up. Possibly the emphasis in past family planning programs has been misplaced, and there should be a greater initial effort to interest men in the advantages of smaller families (Stycos 1965:52-53). Husbands are aware of the burdens of raising a big family in a perilously balanced economic setting. Still, it may be difficult to arouse their interest; past efforts to work with husbands in groups have not been very successful. Probably a great deal of ingenuity and understanding is required to devise an approach that will hold the men's interest.

Assuming that women are interested and have their husbands' consent to use contraceptives, there are still questions about the suitability of existing contraceptive methods to the Indian environment and attitudes. Intra-uterine devices (the IUD) have been successfully used in some areas of Guatemala, but there are certain drawbacks. For one thing, a woman should be examined and her medical case history taken before an IUD is inserted; afterward, she should have regular checkups to be sure that the device is still in place and there are no complications. All of this presupposes that adequate facilities are available--which, in highland Guatemala, they often are not--and that the woman is willing to submit to examinations. Indian women's modesty can preclude both the case history interview and the examinations. Even if they are willing, regular checkups are impossible for the many women who travel back and forth from highlands to coast as migratory workers.

The other major contraceptive currently in vogue--the birth-control pill--also presents difficulties in the highland environment. As earlier chapters have pointed out, regular pill-taking is not part of Indian life; the attitude is that pills are for sick people. Doctors have found it difficult if not impossible to persuade outpatients to take pills according to a schedule over a period of time, even when the patients know they are ill. To establish pill-taking as a preventive measure for healthy women is a formidable undertaking, let alone making them understand that the pill won't work unless it is taken with unvarying regularity. Besides that, there have been reports of serious side effects in some women who have taken the pill, and even if no rumors of these effects have filtered into the highlands, most communities lack facilities to treat complications if they develop.

## VACCINATION AND THE AGENTS OF GOD

When the Spaniards came to the New World, they brought with them diseases against which the Indians had no resistance, because they had never in their pre-conquest history been exposed to them. Highland Indians have suffered the ravages of periodic epidemics ever since. There is no question that epidemic diseases--smallpox, measles, diptheria, whooping cough, and influenza--contribute significantly to the high rate of infant and child mortality. Most of the European-introduced diseases can be prevented by vaccination, but, despite government-sponsored vaccination campaigns in remote Indian regions, the epidemics still occur.

Indian beliefs about the genesis of disease are partly to blame for the failures of vaccination campaigns, but the attitudes and methods of non-Indian medical workers have been far from exemplary. Clinical teams have more than once responded to Indian resistance by using force. Indians have been taken by surprise in the street, the market, and even their own homes and immunized without their permission or any explanation of what was being done to them and why. In some areas of Guatemala, Indians have been trapped in the market: the market doors have been locked and the Indians kept inside until all have been vaccinated. Nurses who administer vaccinations have scolded Indian patients and treated them roughly, perhaps because of frustration and exhaustion, but perhaps because the nurses have the Ladino attitude of superiority over Indians.

Painful eruptions after smallpox vaccinations --possibly caused in part by unsanitary conditions--have also contributed to Indian resistance to being vaccinated.

How even a carefully-planned vaccination project can turn into something closer to open warfare is demonstrated in Holland's (1963:213-14) report from Mexico, a report that could as easily apply to Guatemala. Mexico's Instituto Nacional Indigenista (INI) had established a clinic in the highlands of Chiapas and had begun a massive preventive medicine program among Maya Indians. The first step was to be a smallpox vaccination campaign, and the INI people took sensible steps to launch it. Before anything else was done, two INI officials traveled through the area to enlist support of the _principales_ and get their permission to do the vaccinations. They were met with typical objections: man got smallpox by the will of God, and if He wished to take away life in that manner, the _principales_ could not interfere with destiny. Not even the strange doctors, the _principales_ pointed out, had the power of God.

The director of the INI coordinating center for Indian programs in the region explained that if the Indians allowed themselves to be vaccinated, they would only have a little bit of smallpox in one part of their bodies, and it would soon go away, immunizing them and saving them from having smallpox all over their bodies and running the risk of dying or being scarred for life.

Some of the principales did remember that many years before, the government had vaccinated Indians in one region and they had survived an epidemic that killed many others who had not been vaccinated. After lengthy arguments and discussions, the principales decided that INI could begin its program.

Unfortunately, even the support of the elders did not erase everyone's fear of the strange doctors and their mission. The medical team's purpose was often completely misinterpreted. Some people thought the team members were federal agents come to confiscate and destroy liquor stills. Others thought they were engineers beginning construction on a highway. In both cases, they were seen as great threats to the autonomy of traditional Indian life. People fled from the medical workers or were openly hostile, to the extent that the doctors sometimes felt compelled to carry concealed guns for their own safety.

To deal with the fears and tensions that arose on initial contact, the team employed two Indian assistants (promotores). That proved insufficient, so an Indian midwife, highly respected in the community, was persuaded to accompany the medical team.

Even then, when the purpose of their presence was better understood, the team had to cope with traditional reasoning. Many people refused to be vaccinated because they were sure it would make them sick. As long as they felt well, they argued, why should they need medicine? It was better, they thought, to get smallpox and even die from it than to risk the supernatural consequences of trying to prevent a sickness that was God's punishment. When they did submit to vaccination, the Indians blamed the INI for the skin eruption and slight fever brought on by the immunization.

Matters went from bad to worse. In the middle of the campaign, the _principales_ withdrew their support. On several occasions after that, people threatened to kill the doctor and the nurse. The doctor decided to counter the threats with his own gun, and many Indians agreed to be immunized. Eventually, the team managed to complete its mission: the entire _municipio_ was vaccinated, and there were no injuries or deaths on either side.

One wonders how subsequent immunization campaigns have fared in highland Chiapas.

What impression did the gun-carrying INI doctor leave with the Indians? It is possible that, one vaccination program having been completed without disaster to the Indians, they will be more receptive to others. It is equally possible that their fears about outside medical people were compounded by the discovery that the doctor carried a gun and was apparently willing to use it, if only for self-defense.

The medical team undoubtedly started out with the best of humanitarian intentions, and it is easy to understand the doctor's frustration at being greeted with suspicion, hostility, and refusal to cooperate. He had two alternatives, neither of them wholly satisfactory from a medical point of view: he could protect himself against threats by carrying a gun and thereby continue the vaccinations and eliminate the risk of a smallpox epidemic, or he could delay the vaccinations while attempting to instill understanding about their purpose. When an epidemic threatens a community, it is hard not to choose the first alternative, but to do so may jeopardize long-term medical gains in the region, if the immunization campaign intensifies Indian resistance to outside encroachments on traditional life.

Considering the difficulties of administering a single-injection vaccine in the face of intense suspicion, resistance, and hostility, it is hard to imagine how the Chiapas team could have carried out the diptheria-whooping cough-tetanus series, which requires second and third injections over a period of time.

Even if the INI medical workers had been welcomed into the community, traditional ways of thinking about sickness probably would have been enough to create problems for later medical teams. Many of those who were vaccinated in Chiapas did not really understand the purpose of the procedure or the way it works; afterward, they suffered the normal but unpleasant reaction of skin eruption, swollen glands, and so forth. Having become "sick," in their view, from the vaccination, will they agree to other immunizations at a later date? And if the next ones are the kind that require a series of injections, how are they to be administered to people who live in isolated rural areas and do not understand the necessity for getting the full series? To expect such patients to return to a clinic on the proper date, even if their attitude is cooperative, is impossibly unrealistic.

The Chiapas case is an exceptionally clear example of a dilemma that repeatedly confronts the health worker involved in preventive medicine: should the worker strive to ameliorate a situation that he (but not the Indians) sees as urgent or dangerous, at the expense of violating the ideals of voluntary consent and free choice? Vaccinations will never be among the "felt needs" of a community that does not understand their function or value. The long-term solution, of course, is health education on a level that makes sense to the people. In the meantime, emergency epidemic situations arise, and the best that can be done is to plan vaccination campaigns intelligently and carry them out at every step with genuine respect and understanding for the community's feelings and fears. To seek the support of community elders, as the INI team did, is wise, but it is vital that *everyone* involved understands at least something of the value of the immunization campaign before it begins.* To get consent on an individual basis, family by family, is not too great a precaution to take.

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*Although its setting is Thailand, the article "Diptheria Immunization in a Thai Community," by L. M. Hanks, Jr., and Jane R. Hanks, has pertinent implications for health workers elsewhere. Of particular value are the comments on the nature of the communication process The article was published in *Health, Culture and Community*, edited by Benjamin D. Paul (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1955).

Another prerequisite is that the health worker learn the history of the area; it is his only hope of successfully countering both tradition-based suspicions and lingering hostilities from prior experiences with modern medicine. Surprisingly often, resistance is the result not of basic Indian conceptions about disease but of unfortunate confrontations with outside medical practitioners.

## ENVIRONMENTAL SANITATION: WATER TANKS AND ANCESTORS

Earlier chapters, and the beginning of this one, have made mention of certain aspects of Indian environment and sanitary practices that contribute to the spread of disease. Water contamination is certainly one of the worst environmental problems: as has been noted, in many regions of rural Guatemala, sanitary water and sewage facilities are unknown. Water for drinking and cooking, in those areas, is taken from open drainage ditches, stagnant ponds, public wells, streams, and other sources that are easily contaminated by humans and animals.* The task of the innovator, it would seem, is to persuade people to boil their water and to work for better facilities so that eventually the water can be used safely without boiling.

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*In many of the rural communities, however, water is protected by pipes and drawn from pumps and faucets.

A community health worker in Chiapas tried to do the latter. He spent hours talking to the Indians about sanitary water and the need to protect the springs and water holes from pollution. It seemed that his ideas were being accepted: protective enclosures had been built around a few of the springs, and when there was discussion of plans to enlarge the project, the people seemed to agree that the tanks were necessary and desirable.

One day, the construction crew that was building the protective tanks reported to the community worker that they had tried to begin work on a new tank but the Indians who were using the spring that was to be enclosed had refused to let the crew start working. There had been no explanation; just flat refusal.

The health worker, perplexed by what seemed to him a reversal of attitudes, tried to talk it over with the people who had confronted the construction crew. They were adamant: there could be no tank. He tried to reason through their resistance; he mentally compared their personalities and politics to those of the people who had agreed to the protective tanks. He could find no rationale for the behavior, and, since no amount of talking could change anyone's mind, he made plans to continue the work at another spring. There, too, the people using the spring blocked construction.

Weeks passed while the health worker tried to find out why the people had so suddenly become negative. Finally they told him: it was the design of the particular tanks, not the idea of tanks, that they were opposing. They would allow new tanks to be built, they said, if they looked like the ones first built in the area, but not if they looked like the most recent ones. The early tanks, they pointed out, were open at the top; the new ones were to be completely enclosed. From the health worker's point of view, the new design was more effective. To the Indians, it was completely unacceptable. To enclose the water holes entirely, on top as well as on the sides, was to shut off communication between man and his deified ancestors (Burgos Guevara n.d.: 449-50).

If the health worker had been properly conversant with the local culture, he would have seen the problem immediately for what it was. In Maya communities of Chiapas--as in adjacent highland Guatemala--springs and water holes are sacred. They are never used haphazardly, and they are not "owned" in the private property sense. They are the sacred center of patrilineal social groupings whose lineage ancestors, the Indians believe, first discovered water and established their residences where they found it.

Vogt (1969) uses the term "sna"--literally, "the house of"--to designate a social grouping of one or more patrilineages. The Maya water hole groups are the next largest social units; they vary in size from two to thirteen snas. Vogt's description of the myths about the water holes, the ancestors who discovered them, and the way the water holes were named gives some idea of the religious intensity of the ideas. The myth comes from Zinacantán, Chiapas:

> The following myth is about one of the important waterholes in the hamlet of Pasteʔ.
>
> "Little Waterhole"
>
> "There went a man, he went looking for soaproot, in the mountains, by 'Little Waterhole.' He went to look at 'Little Waterhole.' There, he heard a music-band, and so he went to see, he went to see what he heard, where the music was. But suddenly, it started to rain. Not knowing if the rain would go on, he went to sleep at the foot of a tree; he waited for the rain to pass. A

> thunderbolt came, and the man was hit by the bolt. The thunder passed, but the tree was destroyed; where it was standing, the thunder had passed. Still, the music was playing, and the man heard where it was. He went to see where it was, and then he saw that there was the water. It was a very small well.
>
> "When he saw it, he returned home. 'There is a well,' he said. 'Where?' the others asked. 'Over there let's go see it,' he said. They went to look at the water, but it wasn't little, it was a big well. They saw how big it was and were frightened and cornets played at them. There was a cave there, and they went in, into the ground. Then they returned home. 'Well, I only speak now so you know where the water is. I am going to die,' the man said. 'There I remained, one with the ground, there, in the ground,' he said. In three days the man died. He said just before he died, 'You can drink the water, I will look over it, but you mustn't lose its name, it is "Little Waterhole"'" (Vogt 1969:146-47).

Beside each spring, there are crosses, like those that are found at caves, on shrines, in the patios of houses, and at the tops of sacred mountains. For the Maya, the crosses are not the symbol of Christianity; they are "doorways" leading toward the venerated ancestors, who protect their descendants and heal their diseases.

To reach the cross shrine atop a sacred

mountain, one must first pause at a spring to perform costumbre in sight of the life-giving water. Then it is possible to pass through the symbolic doorway to ascend the higher level, where the ancestral deities await the visit. Vogt has described the intricate connection between cross, water hole, and sacred mountain:

> When Zinacantecos say KRUS they are obviously using a loan word from the Spanish word for cross, cruz. But, while to a Ladino the actual KRUS may appear to be a contemporary replica of the classic Christian cross, it is not to the Zinacantecos. Rather, it symbolizes a "doorway" or means of communication with either the ancestral gods who live in the mountains or the earth god who lives beneath the surface of the earth. Similarly, when Zinacantecos say KALVARIO they are using a loan word from the Spanish word for "calvary," calvario. But, although this type of cross shrine may look like a contemporary replica of crosses on Calvary in far away Jerusalem, it proves to have no such meaning to the Zinacantecos, but symbolizes, instead, the particular place where one goes to make suitable offerings and prayers to ancestral deities for the various social units (snac, waterhole groups, hamlets) in the Zinacanteco social system (Vogt 1969:375).

In Maya communities, each water hole group maintains several cross shrines, one of them located beside the water hole and another on a high hill above it. The upper one, called Kalvario, is where Indians believe the ancestral gods are assembled to survey the affairs of the people and to await the offerings that the shaman and other people of the community bring to them on ritual occasions.

In the Mam-speaking community of Colotenango, Huehuetenango, in the northwestern highlands of Guatemala--where springs are also considered sacred--each person belongs to a particular water hole. Membership is through one's family (Valladares 1957:203-6). The spring to which a person belongs is his Dueño (owner). It is addressed as Dios Padre Pozo (Father God Spring) and as Padre Pozo (Father Spring). Spanish-speaking Indians have learned to translate the terms to Santo Pozo (Holy Spring). The springs are guardian deities: they own the individual's life. When someone is ill, the shaman will pray to the patient's spring for his health and life.

A person's bond to his spring is so profound that ceremonies to establish it commence within days after birth. When a child is born, the midwife heats a stone in the fire, wraps it in leaves, and heats the mother's stomach with it to help her recover. The procedure is repeated three days later; for twenty days (the length of a "month" in the ancient Maya calendar) the stone is kept near the hearth. Then the newborn child's father takes it to the family spring to symbolically "sow" the child. Praying to Father Spring, the father explains that he is sowing one of the spring's sons. He asks that the spring not permit the child to fall ill; that it protect him, since he is its own son. He asks that the child be allowed to grow as a seed grows into a tree.

When a woman marries, her stone must be transferred from her father's spring to that of her husband's family, which symbolizes her own transfer and establishes her position in her new family.

The point of all this is that Maya religion influences even the design of water tanks. Here, again, "improvements" must be devised so as to fit into the traditional world of ideas; they must improve the quality of life without offending religious sensibilities.

As long as water contamination remains a widespread problem, one way to protect people's health is to convince them that they should boil any water they drink or use in cooking. At the beginning of this chapter, there was an anecdote about the difficulties of conveying to Indians the bacteriological reasons that water should be boiled. The quotation was taken from a local woman's arguments against the existence of microbes, which had been described to her by a government health service doctor. The woman was sure that the germs, if there are any such things, would drown in the water and, in any case, certainly could not survive in dirty water because they are too small and delicate. Ultimately, she fitted the microbe concept into her existing ideas about sickness: she concluded that, if anything, it is the disease that produces the microbes, not vice versa.

When Indian women do boil their water without outside urging, it is not because they grasp the need to sterilize it--an idea that makes sense only if you comprehend that there is something in the water that must be killed to make the water sterile. They boil it for reasons that are logical in terms of traditional conceptions about the nature of substances. A good example of their line of reasoning comes from the Peruvian community of Los Molinos, which shares Guatemalan ideas about "hot" and "cold" foods. There, water is one of the few exceptions to the belief that foods are intrinsically hot or cold, no matter how they are prepared. Unboiled water, which is "cold," is suitable for healthy people to drink, but sick people, whose bodies need to be "warmed," should have "cooked" water, which is hot. So women boil water for the sick, and Wellin (1955:92) has written that "cooked" water is so thoroughly linked with illness in Los Molinos that people are conditioned from childhood to loathe it as if it were an evil-tasting medicine. They cannot get it down, in fact, unless it is flavored with sugar, lemon juice, cinnamon, or something of the kind.

It would be easy for medical workers to seize upon the hot-cold belief as a basis for introducing more systematic water boiling. Since the Indians see a need to boil water for sick people in order to change its quality, it seems that they might be persuaded to boil it to prevent sickness from arising in the first place. But the local people believe that boiled water should be drunk only if one is already sick, not before. To boil water is to advertise that there is an illness in the family, and no one wants to do that if the family is well.

Also, there are the naggingly practical limitations that confront the innovator again and again in an environment delicately balanced for bare survival. There is a shortage of fuel (few people can afford to buy wood, so fuel must be collected in the countryside) and, to conserve it, the women make fires only at the thrice-daily mealtimes. The hearths in Indian houses are small, so they cannot accommodate more than one or at most two cooking pots at one time. Because there is fire only when meals are being cooked, all the hearth space is taken up by cooking vessels; there is no room for an additional pot to boil water. No one wants to make an extra fire during the day and use up fuel, so the only time when water can be boiled is after a meal, when the fire has burned down.

Time is another factor in the women's reluctance to boil water regularly. People customarily drink their daily water during the midday heat, and they prefer to drink boiled water only after it has cooled. To cool a potful of water takes at least two hours, which means that the boiling must be done after breakfast. Many women, however, say that they do not have the time then.

How profoundly these factors of environment and habit influence any attempt to introduce the apparently simple innovation of water-boiling is shown by the outcome of work in Los Molinos. There, a hygiene worker tried for two years, with regular visits to every family in the community, to persuade women to boil their water. At the end of that time, only eleven wives--five percent of those in the community--were boiling the water they used.

. . .

Contaminated water is certainly not the only thing in the highland environment that contributes to disease. Earlier in this chapter and elsewhere in the book, there have been descriptions of typical living conditions: yards and fields used to dump garbage and human excreta, and so forth. To improve sanitation in rural communities means providing facilities for disposing of waste; controlling vectors (disease-transmitting insects); improving housing and clothing, and the like. There is no need to reiterate what has already been said, here and in other publications, about environmental hygiene. A last word is in order, however, about latrines, because bathrooms are so deeply embedded in the North Americans' value system as a standard of progress that we find it hard to conceive that the rest of the world may not altogether share our enthusiasm.

Introducing or improving toilet facilities generally has high priority in environmental sanitation projects. But, time after time, the "natives" of the developing world refuse to use the latrines that are built for them. The outhouse, it seems, is one of those items that is not easily transplanted from one cultural context into another, internationally or even nationally, from one ethnic group to another.

The history of an INI project in Chiapas gives some idea of the reasons Indians reject latrines. The project involved selling outhouses to Indians; at the outset, it seemed that the latrines would be readily accepted, and many were sold. Yet when the project was evaluated, it turned out that very few of the outhouses were actually being used. The Indians gave various reasons for rejecting them, the most important being that arable land was so scarce it was a hardship to spare even a small space for an outhouse. Other objections were the unpleasant odor that permanently infested the environs of the latrine, and the uncomfortable position the user had to assume ("too high," and "too cold," were some of the comments).

Anyone who has ever had to use a latrine in a poorly-maintained campground can sympathize with the Indians, who say they would rather go into an open field in the fresh air.

Too, many Middle American Indians and mestizos believe in aires: malevolent, disease-producing "airs" or winds. A common conviction is that certain ailments are caused by inhaling "poisonous" vapors given off by swamps and by latrines (Aguirre Beltrán 1955:113). In any event, it is not at all unscientific to believe that a poorly-maintained, unpleasant latrine breeds germs.

If latrines are to be introduced in rural areas of the highlands, it is important that the people be oriented about their maintenance. No amount of indoctrination will do any good, however, unless the local people have the time and inclination to do the work, and unless the necessary chemicals and equipment are readily available. Latrines will not be kept in antiseptic condition if maintaining them requires that subsistence farmers interrupt their labor to travel over distances for the supplies, or if the supplies must be bought with money the farmers don't have or can't spare.

. . .

Lest anyone smugly assume that hygienic living is limited to modern, technologically advanced societies, or even that our kind of society inevitably improves the sanitary habits of others that it contacts, the following quote is offered. It comes from a recent book about the Waika, a technologically primitive Venezuelan tribe of tropical forest hunter-gatherers. The book is by a German-Venezuelan woman doctor. Writing of a local Waika band that had had little or no previous contact with non-Indians, she describes their shabono (circular settlement) as follows:

> Here as elsewhere with these primitive people one is struck again and again by the fact that neither dwelling nor Indians themselves appear dirty. There is no unpleasant body odor. The skin, constantly exposed to air, has the faint aroma of wood smoke, because the hammocks are placed so close by the ever-burning fire. After eating, the face is wiped clean and, in the absence--as yet--of colds and catarrhs, there are none of the runny noses and dirt-smeared children's faces one encounters in more "civilized" frontier communities. In the absence of artificial materials --paper, tin cans, glass, rags, etc. --there is no trash, nor left-over food to be thrown away. The skulls of animals are ritually preserved.
>
> True, there is a good deal of spitting: seeds and other inedibles are freely expectorated and there is also much ordinary spitting both day and night. But this quickly disappears and presents no obvious eyesores. To defecate, the Indians always walk deep into the forest, and if they live near a stream they always go below, never above the settlement. Excrement is hidden, just as animals bury theirs. If a dog defecates in the shabono he is

loudly cursed and a woman quickly wraps the excrement in leaves and carries it away from the village. The same is done with the excrement of little children. Sad to say, this stands in glaring contrast to the conditions in acculturated Indian villages, where much of the natural sense of hygiene and cleanliness seems to disappear in inverse ratio to the degree of contact with civilization (Steinvorth Goetz 1969:108).

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# CHAPTER 7

## The Schooling Process in Cultural Perspective

Thomas J. La Belle

There is a "schooling mentality" that associates education with rectangular classrooms, neatly arranged desks, and long spans of time spent listening to teachers while being conditioned to the importance of grades and credits for achievement of a deferred life style. That mentality--common among North Americans--fails to recognize that education is more than the result of attending school. Education is also enculturation: the process by which an individual is prepared to take his place as an adult member of his society. Schooling and enculturation are encompassed within the definition of education, both being part of the experiences that an individual encounters as he matures culturally and biologically.

For the Indians of rural Guatemala, the education process centers on the family and the village, where children learn appropriate values and behavior by emulating parents, relatives, and friends. All the skills necessary for traditional life--building, planting, harvesting--are taught and learned as children copy adult patterns and thereby gain the knowledge they need to survive within the confines of their environment. The process has served the Indians and their communities with relative success over the past centuries and continues to do so in many areas. It is a kind of education that is informal, continuous, and relevant. It fulfills basic needs; alternatives are either unknown or unwanted.

But there are external pressures to change the existing patterns, and there is increased emphasis on schooling because of its known or assumed impact on economic development and on social and cultural integration. To the masses in developing nations, however, formal schooling often seems pointless and unrelated to their lives. To make such formal processes more relevant is difficult; educators and development planners who try to devise methods to accomplish it often meet with considerable frustration.

Although schooling, in the formal institutional sense, is compulsory by national law for all Guatemalan children between the ages of seven and fourteen, less than one-fourth of the children in that age group actually attend, and less than 30 percent of those over ten years of age are considered literate (Horst and McLelland 1968:474). For various reasons--some of which will be discussed below--the Indian attendance rate is lower than that of Ladinos, who were included in the statistics reported by Horst and McLelland. It is likely, then, that less than one-fourth of Indian children between the ages of seven and fourteen attend school; schooling, therefore, has little or no influence on the Indian maturation process.

In 1965, the Oficina de Planeamiento Integral de Educación (OPIE) conducted a survey that included a question about student attendance and the reasons for nonregistration and absences (Horst and McLelland 1968:488). Teachers in Ostuncalco, a highland community in southwestern Guatemala, picked several causes for non-attendance from the choices listed in the survey. In order of importance, they are:

1. agricultural and domestic work
2. illness
3. poverty
4. distance from school
5. little interest on the part of the parents

Horst and McLelland comment that work is the "first and prime reason" for absences: "Children are looked upon as assets and are required to do a great deal of work in support of the family." Sons not only work in the family milpa; they also take over family responsibilities when their fathers are away from home for any length of time. Girls are often absent from school because they must do domestic tasks like grinding maize, washing clothes, or taking care of younger siblings. Many absences also are caused by seasonal migration; entire families temporarily move down to the coast to work on the large estates. Although each finca and hacienda is responsible for maintaining a school for children of migrant workers, most of them provide an "inadequate" educational program (Horst and McLelland 1968:488-89).

The same authors also comment that, in Ostuncalco, any survey "would no doubt show that a disproportionate share of nonregistered students and those absent for agricultural or domestic reasons are Indian children, although some ladinos would be included as well. Indians dominate in rural areas where poverty is paramount. Thus it is not surprising that absenteeism on that account would be more prevalent among the Indians."

Illness, the second reason for absenteeism cited by teachers, is related, of course, to the poverty and malnutrition that are prevalent in the highlands. Children do not have

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adequate clothing to dress for cold weather, and winter mornings are cold. Poorly-dressed, malnourished children have lessened resistance to many common illnesses.

Poverty accounts for many students' failure to attend school on a regular basis. Indians, more than other groups in the area, suffer from inadequate family income and have little access to expanded resources. The little money that is earned must be spent on essentials. Very little remains to be expended on school clothes, books, or supplies.

The distance from home to school is also important. In rural areas, many children live several miles from school. Bad weather and the long walk to school, combined with the work load at home, often discourage students from attending on a regular basis.

Finally, parental attitudes toward schooling are significant in determining children's attendance; probably this would have been cited higher on the Ostuncalco teachers' list had they been asked only about Indian children instead of about all their pupils, who include many Ladinos. As Horst and McLelland point out, "Generally, most ladinos and a few Indian families have an interest in and send their children to school. The remaining ladinos and a minority of Indians are interested in education for their children (particularly their sons), but are financially unable to provide for it. A majority of the Indians apparently exhibit no interest in providing their offspring with an education. These attitudes are evidently born of the fact that when parents are themselves educated they place a higher value upon schooling, and that the ladino rather than the Indian tends to be nominally educated" (1968:490).

Research in countries other than Guatemala supports the conclusion that parental attitudes are among the primary factors in children's school attendance and success. In Guatemala, some Indian parents see school as a waste of time because it teaches their children things that have no apparent relevance to their everyday life. There is also some apprehension that schooling will alter the children's goals and eventually lead them to abandon the family and traditional life and move to a town or city. Negative attitudes toward schooling for girls may be especially apparent, because role and status expectations for females tend to be much lower than for males, among both Indians and Ladinos. Certain members of Indian communities--particularly the elders--may view the teacher, who is usually a Ladino or other non-Indian, as an outsider who does not understand the community well enough to teach its children. That kind of reaction is especially likely to arise if the teacher exhibits critical attitudes toward the Indian way of life or attempts to inculcate values that are antithetical to traditional ones.

The physical properties of rural schools themselves are probably a factor in the Indians' apathy toward schooling. The majority of rural schools in Guatemala are one-room constructions, housing all grades and age groups in one classroom. Equipment and outside facilities, including toilets, generally are very limited. Typically, the schoolroom has no electric lighting and very poor natural lighting. Supplies are often scarce; students are usually required to bring a notebook, pen, and pencil, but the Indians' poverty means that Indian students are limited in the number of such items they can buy. According to Horst and McLelland (1968:479), the schools in Ostuncalco get some supplies from the ministry of education, but the largest proportion of the supplies is distributed to urban schools, especially to those located nearest to the national capital.

Teachers in rural schools are often

poorly prepared to teach. The least-skilled teachers go to the rural areas; the best-prepared ones take positions in the urban centers. Teaching salaries are uniformly low throughout Guatemala, but for those teachers who choose the rural schools, housing and basic comforts are also limited. Those circumstances probably encourage many teachers to seek urban positions.

As was pointed out above, education for the Indian child traditionally has been based on emulating adult models. It is an educational process much different from formal schooling; it is continuous and directly related to the skills needed for everyday life. By comparison, the education that children receive in school is likely to seem discontinuous and irrelevant to Indian parents, who see it as ignoring the basic needs of the students and the community. The Indian's way of life is based on centuries of performing traditional activities in approved ways--ways that have been successful for them and their predecessors. The formal school attempts to alter the reliance on tradition: it promotes dependence on abstract conceptions rather than on concrete reality. It calls on the Indian to perform tasks like reading and writing, which seem to him to have little applicability to his way of life; it attempts to make him literate in a second language that he does not use to communicate; and it tries to promote patriotism toward a nation state that he cannot comprehend. In all of these undertakings, the school fails. It fails because it does not take into consideration the life patterns of the people it serves; it fails because the Indians have not yet attained security in terms of basic needs like sufficient food and shelter, and so have not freed their energies for a luxury like formal schooling. The school is fundamentally discontinuous with the Indian way of life, and, because it has little success even in retaining its students, it is also discontinuous with the needs of an integrated society. So the school, as it exists, serves neither the Indian nor the nation. It cannot, because it has meaning only to those with the "schooling mentality": to those who see school as a means to a different life style and are able to defer gratification of their ambitions until after they complete a course of training. That mentality, of course, is completely at variance with the Indian's traditional point of view about his life.

Although apathy or negativism toward schooling is characteristic of Indians, it is possible that there are other factors acting to encourage children to attend school. Otherwise, it would be hard to account for even those few Indian children who do go to school. It is possible that some Indians see schooling as valuable because it gives them the skills they need to protect themselves from being cheated by the Ladinos in barter and trade. In communities where some Indians have developed an interest in emulating Ladino patterns, they may see schooling as a means to that end, and to kinds of advancement not possible within the traditional scheme of community life.

There are certain principles of schooling that might be applied in the Guatemalan setting to make it more relevant and improve its chances of success with Indians. Whether schooling takes place in a classroom for children or is designed to promote changes in adults in a community development program, the nature of the process remains the same. There are certain basic questions that must be dealt with by anyone who is attempting to instill new patterns of behavior through formal schooling. The questions cover three basic categories:

1. What are the values, the customs, and the traditions of the target population?

2. What is the goal or objective of the schooling process, and is there a way to observe and evaluate its outcome?
3. What experiences need to be planned in order to provide for a continuous, evolving series of activities leading to goal success?

These questions are not esoteric; they form the core of the schooling process. They are basic issues that must be dealt with in any program that attempts to promote change. They need not imply lesson plans, lectures, or a formal classroom environment; what they do imply is that schooling must be thought out, with difficulties and consequences anticipated.

The first question states by implication that to teach, one must know something about the culture of the students. Because behavior is rooted in culture and because schooling must begin at the level of the target population, culture is the prime variable in any cross-cultural program of behavior change. In order to deal with values and traditions that may relate to teaching and learning, it is important to find out, first, who traditionally does most of the "teaching" and "learning" in the family and community, and whether age and sex are complicating factors. It is also worthwhile to take careful note of the ways in which teacher and learner normally interact when a child is learning from an adult or adults from one another. The outside innovator should also know whether learning is normally based on (among other things) imitation or is accomplished by doing, by trial-and-error, or by listening and questioning. It is also important to investigate the ways in which people traditionally conceptualize problems. If they are accustomed to working in the abstract, it will enable them to transfer a mathematical principle that they have learned from one problem to another that can be solved by that principle. If they are more accustomed to working in concrete terms, it is likely that they will find it difficult to apply a mathematical principle to any problems other than the one used by the teacher to explain the concept.

The answers to questions of that kind should become apparent to the outsider as he works with a particular population. He will, of course, be forced to become a critical observer if he is to make inferences from behavior that will guide him in planning schooling experiences. He cannot automatically assume that his students' cognitive processes are similar to his own. In working with rural Indians, for example, it would be disastrous to begin by assuming that the scientific method is part of their normal cognitive process.

The outside instructor must not only analyze the target culture; he must be willing to temporarily withdraw from his own culture in order to form an accurate mental picture of the one he is dealing with. It is a vital first step, because it is from that analysis that the teacher will be able to develop teaching experiences and learning goals that will be relevant to the Indians' culturally sanctioned behavior. The way particular ethnic groups think, show their emotions, and control their body movement provide cues for the educator and enable him to better design culturally appropriate ends and means.

The second question that was cited above has to do with the goals of the schooling process. Outsiders concerned with promoting change may be called upon to carry out any of various educational projects, all with different general purposes. They may involve teaching Spanish to Indian children and adults; teaching nutrition, sewing, or cooking to Indian women; establishing family planning programs; helping to establish a community cooperative; promoting agricultural innovation; or organizing and teaching sports and games.

All of these involve what has been referred to here as schooling: they all concern planned, semi-formal activity in which certain experiences are required to meet an objective.

Whatever the program, to verify that it has been successful requires that the goals be specific enough to be observed or measured. The job of evaluation becomes much simpler if the goal is defined as precisely as possible. For example, dietary practices, as noted in chapter 6, are among the most difficult patterns of behavior to alter. To teach a group of women to cook a particular food, and then to find that they are able to cook it without help, may indicate successful change. But if the objective is not only to have them cook the food once but to prepare it regularly for their families, the job of evaluation becomes more complicated; it requires that the promoter visit the family periodically to see whether or not the teaching methodology, the food itself, and the way in which it was prepared are satisfactory and have gained the approval of the target population. The target population for many programs involving change will usually be the younger members of a community, because they are typically the most open to change. The older members, however, cannot be ignored: they exercise considerable influence, and their approval or disapproval of an innovation can decide whether it will be accepted or rejected. Although their approval may be difficult to obtain, it is important that the innovator recognize their authority and show them due respect; to do so may reduce resistance that arises simply because the elders feel affronted, not because they oppose the project in question.

If a goal is imposed from the outside--that is, it is the outside innovator's goal rather than one that has emerged from the population--its chances of failure are much greater. The selection of goals, therefore, is important: they should be relevant to fulfilling a basic need that is felt by the community in question. Once again, it is vital that educational needs be assessed in light of the values that characterize a society.

The third question cited above concerns the experiences that promote learning of a given concept or task. It should be apparent by now that these experiences must be compatible with the patterns of behavior characteristic of the community in question. The educator needs a great deal of information about the target population, because the educational experiences must move the individuals from the baseline--their existing condition of knowledge or skill--to a changed behavioral pattern. The experiences become the means by which people learn a particular concept or skill. They must be programmed over a given period of time, so that a group moves slowly but deliberately through varying sets of activities until the goal is achieved, is reinforced, and becomes a part of the behavior pattern characteristic of that population.

If literacy for a group of adults is the goal, and literacy is operationally defined as being able to read and write a vocabulary of 2,000 Spanish words, then the educator must establish experiences that will lead to that goal. The experiences should be planned and programmed in such a way that they motivate the students, provide incentive and reward, and guarantee periodic successes. For example, the kinds of reading material the teacher chooses will be important. Texts on modern hygiene or methods to improve agricultural production might be too esoteric, but a colorful, animated magazine with short, descriptive phrases about people might give students incentive to read. It is also advisable to follow Ashton-Warner's suggestion (1963) that teachers move toward literacy in terms of the words that each student wants to learn. In that way, each person builds his own vocabulary, meaningful to him. Whatever experiences or activities the instructor finally chooses, they must be appropriate to the population and they must move the group continuously from one level of achievement to another, always maintaining motivation and interest. Teaching of that kind is extremely difficult and delicate. Successful schooling is never easy, of course, but it is more complex when the teacher is forced to come to grips with a culture that is not his own, simultaneously with trying to change behavior.

A formidable problem for schooling in Latin America is one of communication. In developing nations like Guatemala where modernization depends on assimilating and integrating cultural minorities, the existence of separate linguistic and ethnic populations is a severe constraint. In Guatemala, it is obvious that a common language is needed to conduct national and international affairs, but it has not been feasible to promote Quiché, Cakchiquel, Mam or Kekchí for that purpose because the populations that speak those languages total less than one million people.

John Macnamara suggests that the problem is common to other areas of the world:

> ...given the context of ethnic diversification, pressing exigencies of modern nationhood, and the heritage of excolonialism and neocolonialism, it appears impossible (or inadvisable) to wait to develop the indigenous languages as instruments of modern commercial, technocratic and literary communication (1967:2).

The problem becomes one of protecting linguistic and cultural populations in a pluralistic society, while facilitating communication through a single linguistic code.

The process of integrating linguistic minorities into a national entity requires that those who work in this area are aware of the social and cultural context of each language. Anthropological data collected from all parts of the world show that there is a close relationship between language, especially vocabulary, and a given environment. It can be assumed that a given population will have words for things that concern them and will lack words for things with which they have little or no contact. So language must be viewed as fulfilling human needs within a particular social and cultural context. Benjamin Lee Whorf (1956), for example, maintains that language constitutes a perspective--a general frame of reference--

and therefore influences the perception and thought of those who habitually use that language.

The process of enculturation molds the individual as he learns appropriate forms of linguistic behavior for the particular culture to which he belongs. Language becomes an integral part of the life style of a particular population. The rare person who is truly bilingual is aware of cultural differentiations when he utilizes one or the other of the two languages he knows, and he is forced to adapt his verbal and nonverbal behavior to the cultural and linguistic patterns of the person to whom he is speaking. Because of the interrelationships between language and culture, bilingualism cannot be divorced from biculturalism, especially in Guatemala, where language among the Spanish, Ladino, and Indian populations correlates with ethnic group membership.

In Guatemala, as in some other nations, two or more languages are used for internal communications. Each language code serves distinct functions. One set of behavior, attitudes, and values is supported and expressed in one language; another set of behavior, attitudes, and values is supported and expressed in the other. The languages are often separated in accord with their usage: one employed for purposes of schooling and religion and the other for purposes of home and work. In other words, there is a formal or strong language and an informal or weaker language (Fishman 1967). That situation seems to be typical of the communicative process in Latin America, where Indian populations speak distinct languages. Those Indians who live in villages and speak Spanish along with an indigenous language utilize Spanish as a formal language that enables them to have contact with a wider region through other Spanish speakers. They utilize the indigenous language for local or informal contact within and around the village. Thus, individuals who manipulate both language codes may act as what Eric Wolf has termed "brokers" and operate with a degree of ease in both the community and the nation (Wagley 1964). In Guatemala, this bilingualism also has been observed to work in reverse. Merchants who must trade with Indians in the market often are forced to learn the Indian language in order to communicate and carry on their business (Tobia 1968).

For Guatemalan Indians to acquire language skills in Spanish certainly is not the panacea for national integration. Still, schooling can assist the process of acculturation through language instruction. Guatemalan schools use Spanish as the primary language of instruction, but the ministry of education apparently is not opposed to the use of native languages in the schooling process (Tobia 1968). Research on language acquisition has given evidence that instruction in a native language should precede instruction in a second language, a principle that is now being accepted in programs for Spanish-speaking children in the United States. Schools in the U.S. are also beginning to accept the teaching of all subject matter in both languages. Since children who must cope with unfamiliar subject matter in a language other than their mother tongue are obviously at a disadvantage, instruction in a second language influences their interest, their motivation, and, consequently, their school achievement and progress.

Mexico and Peru have done experiments with language instruction programs as part of national integration--experiments that have important implications for schooling in Guatemala. In southern Oaxaca, Mexico, before 1955, only one-fourth of the population spoke Spanish. Nonetheless, Spanish was the language used for instruction in school, which effectively precluded schooling for 150,000 Mixtecan Indians.

In 1955, seven elementary schools were established by the National Indian Institute, incorporating teachers from the local population as well as instruction in Mixteco. Spanish was taught as a second language, using conversational techniques.

Within nine months, Mixtecan children enrolled in the experimental program could read and write both their own language and Spanish. These excellent results were attributed to teachers who were familiar with local cultural patterns and to primers that were well-illustrated and that related lessons to the children's life style. After two years in an Institute school, children were able to enter a Spanish-language federal school at the second or third grade level (Arana de Swadesh 1968).

In Peru, a program known as Transición Bilingue achieved similar results for one million Quechua-speaking Indians. The program was initiated in 1964, by the Peruvian ministry of public education. It involved two years of special instruction in Quechua to prepare Quechua-speaking children academically and psychologically for the first year of common primary school. Results of the experimental program showed that the specially-instructed students were markedly superior in school achievement to children from ordinary rural schools where Spanish was the medium of instruction. Furthermore, absenteeism was virtually eliminated, even during the planting and harvesting seasons. The program reduced linguistic and cultural shock, promoted self-confidence, and instilled pride in the native language and culture (Burns 1968).

Projects like those of Mexico and Peru manifest the ideals of relevance in schooling; they also appear to bridge the cultural gap. Whether or not the same principles can be applied to integrating the Indian populations of Guatemala depends upon the willingness of the government and of educators to apply relevant goals and methods. Such projects will not eliminate cultural enclaves or remove the many barriers between Ladino and Indian communities. They may, however, have some impact on those problems, and they can only be viewed as continuing steps toward a more integrated society: one that achieves mutual change in both the dominant and the minority cultures.

The above analyses of schooling should make clear that goals and methods must be viewed in terms of the culture in which the process is to take place. Any other conception is doomed to failure. The way in which the teaching-learning process occurs is not universal; people from different cultures do not learn in the same ways nor do they have identical values to determine the kinds of learning that are appropriate to them.

The task of the potential innovator is a difficult one, not only because of the complexities involved in designing curricular and instructional methods for different cultural groups, but because the innovator himself is culture-bound and limited in his conception of alternatives to the typical schooling process. Need there be a building called a school? Need teachers meet with children in a classroom for schooling to occur? Need there be teachers? Why must there be grades, credits, and diplomas? Obviously, schooling can take place without those coercive and constraining elements; to discover different approaches, the teacher must break away from the "schooling mentality." As Paul Goodman and Ivan Illich have suggested, it is necessary that we find alternatives to the typical school. Such alternatives are only limited by the educator's conception of what schooling is all about. To embark on new ventures that give great promise for relevant teaching and learning, the innovator must first of all avoid being engulfed by his own experiences.

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## APPENDIX A

# THE POTTER AND THE FARMER :

## The Fate of Two Innovators in a Maya Village

by Ruben E. Reina*

Chinautla is a small Maya town of approximately 1500 people, descendants of the Pokomam-speaking group which once occupied large portions of the southwestern part of the Guatemalan highlands. Today only a few thousand of these people are living in a handful of villages surrounded by Spanish and other Maya-speaking people.

The Chinautlecos are located only seven miles from Guatemala City. They have been not only in close association with the urban center, using the city markets since the Spanish developed this area, but have also accepted a few non-Indian families as residents of the village. These non-Indian families are known as _ladinos_.

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When one enters the deep, narrow valley where the Chinautlecos live, one encounters an atmosphere of great simplicity. Only a few men and women are to be found in the village streets after the very early hours of the day. Their economic activities of charcoal making and agriculture keep most of the men in the fields outside the village for the entire day. The women are left behind to care for the home and children and to make clay water jars, kneading the clay, forming the vessels, and firing them.

In recent years because of a shortage of land and perhaps a slight increase in the population of the community, young men temporarily have been forced to earn a living in Guatemala City as unskilled labor or to seek land along the Pacific coastal regions. Those who work in the city commute daily on foot, by bicycle, or by bus, while those who journey to the coast make the trip only once a week. But each looks forward to the time when he may purchase or inherit land on which he will be able to carry on the traditional method of making a living. The women, on the other hand, have not been forced to change their profession or hire themselves out in the city. The demand for pottery in the northwestern highland areas of the nation is large, the supply of clay in the community is excellent, and pottery making carries the status of womanhood.

It is important to view Chinautlecos historically and to find that since the Conquest the basic aspects of their life have remained unchanged despite the nearby urban development. Chinautlecos resided in this valley even before the coming of the Spaniards under Don Pedro de Alvarado in 1526 and without a doubt they were an active group during the Maya Classical period. In 1768, the archbishop, Pedro Cortez y Larraz gave his first impressions of the people who lived along the river which cuts across Chinautla today: They were working with clay, producing beautiful water jars without a wheel, and cultivating milpa (corn fields); but he found them savage, "without God, without a king, and without laws...inhabitating the bank of the river, hidden and difficult to find."

Although during the last four hundred years the Chinautlecos have been directly exposed to Spanish ways, have seen the birth of the nation in 1823, and have participated in some of the political revolutions, they still hold to many of the traditional ways of their ancestors while at the same time adjusting their religious forms and political organizations to the requirements imposed by the National Guatemala Government. They have learned Spanish as their lingua franca, but they have maintained Pokomam as their household language. It is in the context of this language that their deepest emotion and thinking takes place. They feel deeply that the town itself is the setting for the entire Indian life. They were born here, and it is here that they must marry, die, and be buried. This feeling largely supports permanency, with virtually complete absence of emigration. The sentiment lends a philosophical touch to the image and concept of pueblo (community). The community, through the religious and political organizations, is able to control the traditions which govern the individual from the cradle to the grave--and, it is believed, even beyond.

Although one's first impression of Chinautla is that life there is very simple, this is not so. The mayor of the town, in the year 1953, permitted me to reside and move among "his people" freely. He was an Indian mayor, elected according to the rules set forth in the new democratic constitution of 1945. And the inhabitants of the town respected his decision. It was only after many failures to reach the people informally that I began to suspect there was more to the organization of the community than I had known and that behind the apparent simplicity there was a complex social mechanism so intricate that the attempt to obtain a clear description and explanation was not only time-consuming but psychologically exhausting for the informant. The most frequent answer to my questions about the nature of the organization and the ritual was, "We do this because it is the custom, es costumbre." This had become a useful formula for answering inquiries from outsiders, especially aliens who at one time demanded from the Indians the adoption of Spanish ways.

I was interested in the function and description of the community culture and in the study of cultural change and cultural persistence as affected by the proximity of the village to an urban center and by the influence of the nation on the community. In the midst of learning the elements of the tradition and how Chinautlecos see them related, I could not escape asking myself several questions: How does it feel to be born and to live in this type of community and tradition? To what extent, within this apparent homogeneity, might an individual be allowed to be different or an innovator? Cases of individuals who were behaving out of the ordinary, and the reaction of the community toward them might give an insight into both the nature of the culture and the Chinautleco as an individual.

## JESUS AND DOLORES 1953, 1955:

### The Indian Woman Artist

During my first visit to Chinautla in 1953, a very old lady was willing to explain to me, a stranger, the intricacies of pottery making, a woman's skill. At the time, she was training Dolores, her twelve-year-old orphan granddaughter, in the steps for the preparation of the clay and for forming the pieces of pottery. This woman was, in most ways, identical to the rest of the women in town. She dressed in the huipil and Indian skirt, did not wear shoes, and she spoke both Pokomam and Spanish. She was different in one way, for instead of making the traditional water jars, she made very artistic and attractive animal figurines, using the same coil technique. The figurines were rubbed and polished with a round pebble, and frequently painted with a white liquid clay substance, and then fired in the open. This woman had no difficulty in selling her products in the Guatemala City markets to which, like everyone else, she took them weekly during the dry season. Contrary to economic laws of supply and demand, when production was at its peak in the dry season and demand was high, prices were also at their highest point. She met the urban middlewomen with poise and security, demonstrating to her granddaughter the proper way of handling the aggressive buyers.

By 1955, the granddaughter, who was now 14 years of age, had moved to another corner of the courtyard and was working alone. She was now old enough for marriage and it was not long before she received a proposal. The grandmother accepted several baskets of food from the family who sent the go-between to bargain for the wedding. Both families looked forward with much anticipation to the marriage. The mother of the boy, a widow, owned much land and hoped that the girl would come to live with them. For this reason long bargaining was necessary. She was especially anxious to keep her son at home because of the great economic advantage of having him work her land. And to have a daughter-in-law who could produce pottery would strengthen the economic position of the household. But Dolores' grandmother was also a widow and wanted to bring the boy to live with her. This latter alternative was not very likely, however, because of the grandmother's precarious economic condition. Nevertheless, she was willing to try in the hope that the boy's mother would not be able to meet her bride price. Everything moved favorably toward the marriage and the boy's baptismal godparents were asked to serve as godparents in the wedding, and they accepted. Both sets of parents and siblings agreed at the time that Dolores was a hard-working potter and that she could produce good water jars, as did other women, and that the boy, Jesus, was a good agricultural worker. In the excitement of the arrangements the boy's mother was not concerned with Dolores' artistic inclinations. It was assumed that after the wedding she would comply with the pattern of work established in the boy's household.

## 1955: The Agricultural Innovator

I had an opportunity to meet the prospective groom, Jesus, who became one of my best informants in 1955. My interest was first aroused because he was the only person in Chinautla cultivating an unusual variety of vegetables. Furthermore, he was a very articulate individual in both Pokomam and Spanish. He had learned to grow vegetables in the Chinese pattern while working for a Chinese horticulturalist in Guatemala City. His father had arranged this work for him. After the father's death, the boy returned to his community and took an important role in the household. With much enthusiasm he developed a Chinese garden on his father's land at the outskirts of the town. A nearby mountain spring supplied water for irrigation during the six dry months of the year, so that in combination with the rainy season he had a full agricultural year. It became a very profitable business. Buyers in the market were quick to take any amount of vegetables at any time. His mother and older sister marketed his produce in a very quiet manner. They placed the vegetables in large baskets wrapped in white cloth, frequently walking to town and returning by bus. Jesus also grew a patch of corn (milpa) in the traditional way in order to train his younger brother.

Soon it became well known that Jesus was engaged in a profitable business and he and his mother became suspicious of the people's interest in watching them. "It was envidia," Jesus said. Someone was practicing envidia (magical tricks) in order to ruin them. They were concerned because Jesus' father, they believed, had been bewitched by an envious neighbor and specialists in the art of envidia explained that the economic prosperity of this family was carefully watched by envious neighbors.

The community learned about the arrangement for the marriage of Dolores, who was doing rather well economically, with Jesus. It became public knowledge when the godparents were elected, and in this sense many more outsiders became involved with the arrangements for the wedding. The couple had now come to the public eye and there was much speculation about them. Advice and gossip began to filter to Jesus' mother and to Dolores' grandmother. The community was watching the economic activities of Dolores and Jesus and speculating on the work of these innovators and on their reliability as human beings.

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## 1956: The Marriage Plans Fail

In the year 1955, both Dolores and Jesus knew that their respective parents were negotiating their marriage. They watched each other from a distance, receiving messages through younger sisters. On a few occasions Jesus found Dolores alone while she was drawing water from the pila, when they had an opportunity for a few words. Jesus anxiously awaited the conclusion of the bargaining. It would permit him to talk to her face to face in her courtyard, as he brought a bundle of wood to her home every weekend. There was excitement at the prospect. As is the custom, he bought her wedding dress with veil and chain, while Dolores was saving to buy the dark blue suit for him.

Although Dolores' grandmother died before the wedding date, her aunt continued the negotiations. Dolores proceeded to work even harder and to create new figurines of animals and angels. The finest products were statues in miniature of a Chinautleco man and woman, made to order. In the meantime, Jesus' mother had consulted a zahorin (diviner) from Guatemala City who had advised her to reconsider the character of Dolores, that there might arise some trouble in the future with this girl as a daughter-in-law, and that she might not be a congenial person to bring to her household. The diviner offered to remove the bad elements for $25.00, but the boy's mother began to waver in the marriage plans. This caused some embarrassment to the girl's aunt who then decided to drop the negotiations. Dolores herself was upset and did not want to renew negotiations, and the two families were, therefore, back to the point they had been when arrangements had begun. Gossip had affected the social standing of the boy's family to the extent that the mother decided to forfeit the $150.00 she had spent on presents given to Dolores' grandmother.

Dolores continued through the years 1956-58 in her artistic work, producing very interesting clay pieces. In the meantime, she had two other proposals of marriage. The initial stages progressed well, but both proposals failed. This convinced Jesus and his mother that the zahorin had been right. Because of the three failures, Dolores' aunt became very much concerned that her niece might not find a good man, for with each case her desirability had lessened. People began to think that perhaps she was not a good prospect for marriage, and that perhaps she was not capable of controlling the general bad aspects of human nature.

At the time of these events, their meaning was not clear. Whatever was obstructing Dolores in her plans for marriage was indeed subtle. The usual reply to the question, "Why is this happening to this girl?" was, "Asi es la vida" (That is life).

On the other hand, as the months went by, Jesus was also losing; his reputation was now not good and he took advantage of the situation to enjoy life accordingly, but his mother applied pressure. She complained; she fought with a married woman who wanted to leave her own husband in order to live with Jesus; and she threatened to take the land away from him. Thereafter, she was unable to arrange another wedding. She made several proposals through the go-between, but each time they met with failure. Jesus was working well in the production of vegetables on his father's land. He was also very active religiously. Gossip, however, indicated that he was not yet, for some reason, a reliable Chinautleco. It was difficult to find the exact combination of factors that had triggered his failures in the marriage proposals. Later he became very ill with tuberculosis and spent several months in the hospital in Guatemala City, and this event, not considered a random occurrence, affected the course of his life. He was to become more conservative.

## 1958: Dolores and Jesus Abandon Their Skills

Three years had passed since the initial proposals for marriage had been made for Jesus and Dolores. In 1958, I revisited Chinautla once more, and went to the courtyard of Dolores' aunt to see what new items she had produced. The aunt, aging now, showed me her own things. They were the same miniature animals made once by her deceased mother. Asking for Dolores' figurines, I was told there were none. She was working inside the hut, producing large water jars. The workmanship was excellent; she was a skillful potter. The aunt remarked that Dolores had abandoned the creation of figurines. I offered to pay well for a few special pieces, but Dolores refused to make them, regardless of price.

I also visited Jesus' home. It was a Sunday morning during the rainy season, and I found the entire family there. We talked in general, and Jesus explained that he had abandoned the production of vegetables, and was now producing only maize and black beans. The mother stated that it was a good arrangement. We made calculations of his earnings, and found them to be less than in the previous year. His mother appeared to be concerned with her son's future. Many things had troubled her, particularly the public accusation that her marriageable son had mis-behaved with the daughter of an important man in town. The son had agreed to marry the girl, but the mother had strongly opposed the arrangement. A son was born out of wedlock and Jesus paid for the midwife, but the marriage did not take place, perhaps because the illegitimate child was stillborn.

### 1960: Two Weddings

Upon revisiting Chinautla in 1960, I learned that Dolores had married and was residing with her husband's parents. The aunt said that it was a very pleasant and good arrangement. It seemed more than a coincidence that as soon as Dolores abandoned the artistic activity and proceeded in the traditional ways of pottery making, she had a good marriage proposal with an acceptable bride price. She was now even taking her own load of pottery into the city in the most traditional manner: walking, carrying the pots by means of a tumpline. I visited her in the new setting, and there I found her making a large water jar. She said she had no intention of returning to the making of figurines. "What a pity," I said, "because you can make the best figurines." But she shrugged her shoulders and dismissed the subject.

In the household of Jesus' mother I found an additional member. She was a young girl, and at first Jesus classified her as his sister, in an attempt to conceal the fact that she was his common law wife, even though both sets of parents had agreed to the arrangement. It was significant that Jesus had abandoned his horticultural activities, had converted his piece of land into a milpa, and had no intention of returning to his vegetable farming. Instead, he was busy in his milpa and in the production of charcoal. Over a period of seven years Jesus had forgotten some of the acquired city ways and interests and had become less able as a bilinguist. His Spanish was rusty, there were more grammatical errors, and he had difficulty in reading the newspaper headlines. Altogether, he had become a more conservative adult and had aged rapidly.

In a period of seven years the potential artistic potter and the innovator horticulturalist had returned to their original background to become totally indistinguishable from other Chinautlecos. Jesus' common law wife proved to be a good woman, bearing him a son and producing good pottery. Therefore, a wedding was in order, and I had the opportunity to witness it in the summer of 1962.

The drama and excitement for the two innovators of the village had passed. The period of innovation had lasted only a short time; the artistic clay objects and the Chinese-style garden had not been accepted as things which an individual member of this type of community could do. They had caused the innovators to be considered unreliable. The ethnographic knowledge of the community and the specific actions of members of the village toward these two individuals during this period provided the necessary background and insight for understanding the relationship of the tradition or culture to the individual.

Once I recognized it, this sequence of events seemed rather typical. Other individuals, with less success, had attempted modification at some period of their lives. These biographical events give significant clues in the relationship of culture change and the individual among 20th century peasants of Guatemala.

As I have stated elsewhere, Chinautlecos consider themselves professional milperos, charcoal makers, and potters, and total deviation from this norm seems to bring personal distress and social embarrassment. The cases of Dolores and Jesus did not seem unusual, at first, inasmuch as they used the same basic elements in their work, following the same rhythm of life at home and in the market as everyone else. I had not viewed the final product as symbolic of personality deviations. The activities of both persons were quietly observed and proved to be significant in terms of the primary events in the life cycle of both individuals, particularly when marriage was considered as a fulfillment of the laws of life. One of the dominant assumptions among Chinautlecos is that human nature is intrinsically bad and if the person does not recognize the available traditions and does not possess the will to organize his life by controlling his drives, his reputation will be severely affected. "Life here is very hard anyway, and why should one get even deeper by not being careful in the selection of a mate."

Jesus' manhood at first could not be questioned because he was fortunate in having good land, which gave him the dignity of a man; but he was different in that he was less concerned with the central element which supports life, that of the production of maize and charcoal. His action, once well established, became a paradox to the people. He had good land and a good chance to produce large quantities of maize. A person may be excused if he does not have sufficient land, and in order to survive undertakes another occupation for a period, hoping that his destino may soon change and he can soon reenter the rhythm of life proper for a Chinautleco. But one who purposely undertakes a variation from the norm must expect to pay the consequences. Parents of young boys often become concerned when their sons take employment in the city, and are anxious when there is no alternative in sight.

In conclusion, life in a community like Chinautla is such that it does not foster the growth of individual skills or interests.

The artist and the innovator in Chinautla easily succumb under the natural weight of tradition. It is possible that when Dolores becomes old, like her grandmother, having the courage to face the community and having less to lose, she will return to the old enterprise of which she is indeed very capable. Jesus, however, will not return to his horticultural activities. Change of this order would cause a man too much embarrassment.

In a biography of a Chinautleco, one finds a clear statement of how he perceives himself. The informant stated, "We live like God wants us to...we were born without shoes and we are the Indians here...One knows what one is and this is all." The mother of Jesus recognized the horticultural activity as a good enterprise, but understood that it could not be continued because of the people's reaction. So with resignation she says now, "Asi es la vida, muy dura...That is life, very hard."

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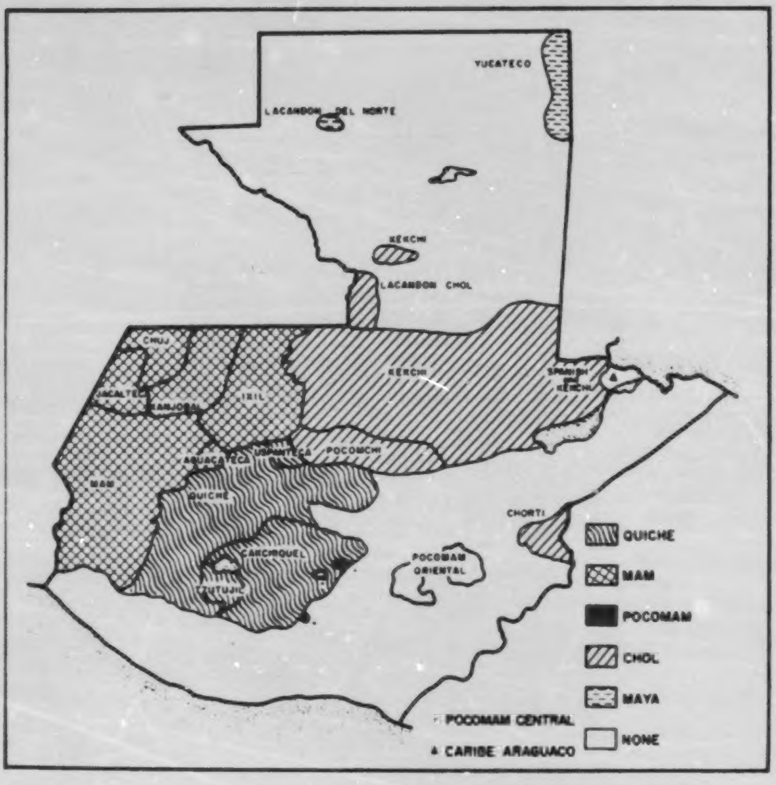
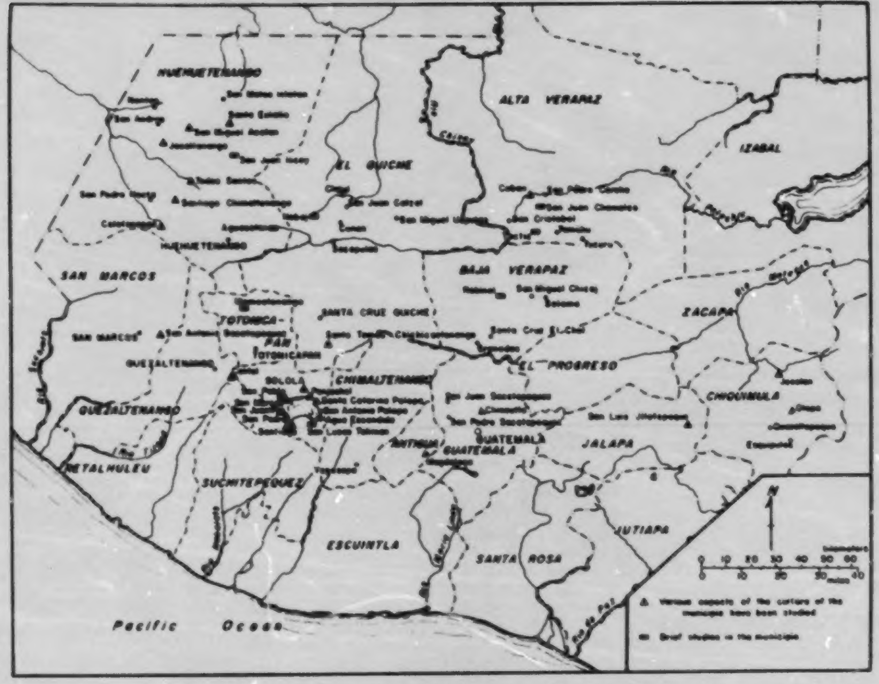
# APPENDIX B



Present-day Maya Language
Boundaries of Guatemala

# APPENDIX C



Ethnographic Studies of Guatemala Highland Communities

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# APPENDIX D

# PRELIMINARY SELECTED DIRECTORY OF GUATEMALAN INSTITUTIONS, LIBRARIES, AND INDIVIDUALS WITH SOCIAL SCIENCE RESEARCH INTERESTS

By Calvin P. Blair*

(Note: The list is far from complete. It includes only those persons or institutions contacted in the survey, or reported by those contacted. Addresses listed as "Guatemala" mean Guatemala City.)

## INSTITUTIONS

Academia de Ciencias
Av. Reforma 0-63, zona 10
Guatemala

Academia Lengua Maya Quiché
Quezaltenango, Guatemala

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*From "Social Science Research in Guatemala and the Role of U.S. Personnel: 1950-1967." In Responsibilities of the Foreign Scholar to the Local Scholarly Community: Studies of U.S. Research in Guatemala, Chile and Paraguay, by Calvin P. Blair, Richard P. Schaedel, and James H. Street. n.p.: Latin American Studies Association, 1969. Reprinted by permission of the publisher.

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AID/Guatemala
Edificio Cruz Azul, zona 1
Guatemala

Banco de Guatemala
7a. Av. 22-01, zona 1
Guatemala

Cámara de Comercio
10a. C 3-80, zona 1
Guatemala

Cámara de Industria
3a. Av. 12-22, zona 1
Guatemala

Catholic Relief Services
Apartado Postal 739
Guatemala

Centro de Estudios de Población
Universidad de San Carlos
Ciudad Universitaria, zona 12
Guatemala

Centro de Salud Mental
4a. C 0-31, zona 1
Guatemala

Centro Guatemalteco de Desarrollo Industrial
6a. Av. 5-39, zona 1
Guatemala

Consejo de Bienestar Social
1a. C 4-34, zona 1
Guatemala

Consejo Nacional de Planificación
Económica
11 C 3-50, zona 1
Guatemala

Cuerpo de Paz (Peace Corps)
10a. Av. 13-12, zona 1
Guatemala

Departamento de Integración
Facultad de Ciencias Jurídicas y Sociales
Universidad de San Carlos
9a. Av. 9-79, zona 1
Guatemala

Departamento de Planeamiento Urbano y Regional
Dirección General de Obras Públicas
Guatemala

Demartamento de Planeamiento Urbano y Regional
Facultad de Arquitectura
Universidad de San Carlos
Ciudad Universitaria, zona 12
Guatemala

Departamento de Planeamiento Urbano y Regional
Facultad de Ingeniería
Universidad de San Carlos
Ciudad Universitaria, zona 12
Guatemala

Departamento Técnico de Presupuesto
7a. Av. 5-41, zona 1
Guatemala

Dirección de Bienestar Infantil y Familiar
Secretaría de Asuntos Sociales de la Presidencia
Av. Reforma 2-43, zona 10
Guatemala

Dirección de Límites y Aguas Internacionales
Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores
7a. Av. 0-70, zona 13
Guatemala

Dirección General de Desarrollo Agropecuario
12 Av. 19-01, zona 1
Guatemala

Dirección General de Desarrollo Socioeducativo Rural
8a. Av. 15-62, zona 1
Guatemala

Dirección General de Estadística
Ministerio de Economía
10a. C 7-69, zona 1
Guatemala

Dirección General de Investigación y Extensión Agrícola
Ministerio de Agricultura
"La Aurora" zona 13
Guatemala

Dirección General del Impuesto sobre la Renta
7a. Av. 4-49, zona 1
Guatemala

Dirección General Forestal
"La Aurora" zona 13
Guatemala

Empresa Nacional de Fomento y Desarrollo Económico del Petén (FYDEP)
2a. C 1-00, zona 10
Guatemala

Escuela de Ciencias Económicas de Occidente
Quezaltenango, Guatemala

Escuela de Ciencias Jurídicas y Sociales de Occidente
Quezaltenango, Guatemala

Escuela de Servicio Social del Instituto
Guatemalteco de Seguridad Social
Apartado Postal 349
Guatemala

Escuela de Servicio Social Rural
Universidad de San Carlos
Quezaltenango, Guatemala

Escuela Facultativa de Humanidades de
Occidente
Quezaltenango, Guatemala

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Universidad de San Carlos
C. Mariscal Cruz 1-56, zona 10
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Facultad de Ciencias Económicas
Universidad Rafael Landívar
17 C 8-64, zona 10
Guatemala

Facultad de Ciencias Jurídicas y Sociales
Universidad Rafael Landívar
17 C 8-64, zona 10
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Facultad de Humanidades
Universidad de San Carlos
9a. Av. 13-39, zona 1
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Facultad de Humanidades
Universidad Rafael Landívar
17 C 8-64, zona 10
Guatemala

Fundación para el Desarrollo Internacional
4a. C 5-73, zona 9
Guatemala

Instituto Centroamericano de Investigación y
Tecnología Industrial (ICAITI)
Av. Reforma 4-47, zona 10
Guatemala

Instituto de Antropología e Historia (IDAEH)
"La Aurora" zona 13
Guatemala

Instituto de Fomento de la Producción (INFOP)
9a. C 9-47, zona 1
Guatemala

Instituto de Investigaciones Económicas y
Sociales (IIES)
Av. Reforma 0-63, zona 10
Guatemala

Instituto de Nutrición de Centro América y
Panamá (INCAP)
Carretera Roosevelt, zona 11
Guatemala

Instituto Geográfico Nacional
Av. las Américas 5-76, zona 13
Guatemala

Instituto Guatemalteco de Seguridad Social
(IGSS)
Edificio IGSS
Guatemala

Instituto Indigenista Nacional
6a. Av. 1-22, zona 1
Guatemala

Instituto Interamericano de Ciencias Agrícolas
de la OEA
Zona Norte
la. Av. 8-00, zona 9
Guatemala

Instituto Linguístico de Verano
Apartado Postal 74
Guatemala

Instituto Nacional de Administración para el
Desarrollo (INAD)
8a. C 5-72, zona 9
Guatemala

Instituto Nacional de Transformación Agraria
(INTA)
14 C 7-14, zona 1
Guatemala

Instituto para el Desarrollo Económico Social
de América Central (IDESAC)
5a. Av. 12-26, zona 1
Guatemala

Misión de Asistencia Técnica de la UNESCO
6a. C 9a-27, zona 1
Guatemala

Museo de Artes e Industrias Populares
10a. Av. 10-79, zona 1
Guatemala

Oficina de Planeamiento Integral de la
Educación (OPIE)
4a. Av. 8-56, zona 1
Guatemala

Oficina Sanitaria Panamericana
9a. C 3-25, zona 1
Guatemala

Padres Maryknoll
Jacaltenango, Huehuetenango
Guatemala

Patronato Antialcohólico
9a. C 2-64, zona 1
Guatemala

Sección Nacional del Instituto Panamericano de Geografía e Historia
Av. las Américas 6-76, zona 13
Guatemala

Secretaría Permanente del Tratado General de Integración Económica Centroamericana (SIECA)
4a. Av. 10-25, zona 14
Guatemala

Seminario de Integración Social Guatemalteca (SISG)
11 C 4-31, zona 1
Guatemala

Servicio de Fomento de la Economía Indígena (SFEI)
"La Aurora" zona 13
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Servicio Social Rural
Universidad Rafael Landívar
14 Av. "A" 4-11, zona 1
Quezaltenango, Guatemala

Sociedad de Geografía e Historia
3a. Av. 8-35, zona 1
Guatemala

Unión Panamericana
4a. Av. 8-63, zona 1
Guatemala

Universidad Mariano Galvez
7a. Av. "A" 3-70, zona 1
Guatemala

Universidad del Valle
Apartado Postal 82
Guatemala

## LIBRARIES

Biblioteca de la Dirección de Desarrollo Socioeducativo Rural
8a. Av. 15-62, zona 1
Guatemala

Biblioteca de la Escuela Nacional de Agricultura
Finca Bárcenas, Villa Nueva
Guatemala

Biblioteca de la Facultad de Arquitectura
Ciudad Universitaria, zona 12
Guatemala

Biblioteca de la Facultad de Ciencias Económicas
C. Mariscal Cruz 1-56, zona 10
Guatemala

Biblioteca de la Facultad de Ciencias Jurídicas y Sociales
9a. Av. 9-79, zona 1
Guatemala

Biblioteca de la Facultad de Humanidades
9a. Av. 13-39, zona 1
Guatemala

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Ciudad Universitaria, zona 12
Guatemala

Biblioteca de la SIECA
4a. Av. 10-25, zona 14
Guatemala

Biblioteca de la Sociedad de Geografía e Historia
3a. Av. 8-35, zona 1
Guatemala

Biblioteca del Banco de Guatemala
7a. Av. 22-01, zona 1
Guatemala

Biblioteca del Congreso Nacional
9a. Av. 9-58, zona 1
Guatemala

Biblioteca del ICAITI
Av. Reforma 4-47, zona 10
Guatemala

Biblioteca del INAD
8a. C 5-72, zona 9
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Biblioteca del INCAP
C. Roosevelt, zona 11
Guatemala

Biblioteca del INFOP
9a. C 9-47, zona 1
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Biblioteca del Instituto de Antropología
e Historia
"La Aurora" zona 13
Guatemala

Biblioteca del Instituto Geográfico Nacional
Av. de las Américas 5-76, zona 13
Guatemala

Biblioteca del Instituto Indigenista
Nacional
6a. Av. 1-22, zona 1
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Biblioteca del Instituto Linguístico de
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Apartado Postal 74
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Biblioteca del INTA
14 C 7-14, zona 1
Guatemala

Biblioteca del Seminario de Integración
Social Guatemalteca
11 C 4-31, zona 1
Guatemala

Biblioteca Lincoln
Quezaltenango
Guatemala

Biblioteca Nacional de Guatemala
5a. Av. 7-26, zona 1
Guatemala

Hemeroteca Nacional
5a. Av. 7-26, zona 1
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Universidad de San Carlos
Ciudad Universitaria, zona 12
Guatemala

Rosalío Saquic
Instituto Indigenista Nacional
6a. Av. 1-22, zona 1
Guatemala

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de Occidente
Quezaltenango, Guatemala

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9a. C 3-72, zona 1
Guatemala

Alfredo Tay
IDESAC
5a. Av. 12-26, zona 1
Guatemala

David Vela
El Imparcial
7a. C 10-54, zona 1
Guatemala

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ICAITI
Av. la Reforma 4-47, zona 10
Guatemala

Carlos Alpirez
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Agropecuarias e Industriales
Banco de Guatemala
7a. Av. 22-01, zona 1
Guatemala

Marco Tulio Benítez Gil
Departamento de Investigaciones
 Agropecuarias e Industriales
Banco de Guatemala
7a. Av. 22-01, zona 1
Guatemala

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 Económicas y Sociales
Av. la Reforma 0-63, zona 10
Guatemala

Carlos Manuel Castillo
SIECA
4a. Av. 10-25, zona 14
Guatemala

Anastasio Cruz R.
INFOP
9a. C 9-47, zona 1
Guatemala

Alfonso Figueroa
Instituto de Investigaciones
 Económicas y Sociales
Av. la Reforma 0-63, zona 10
Guatemala

Efraín H. Gálvez
Dirección General Forestal
"La Aurora" zona 13
Guatemala

Mario Aníbal González
Escuela de Ciencias Económicas de Occidente
Quezaltenango, Guatemala

Roberto López Pérez
Consejo Nacional de Planificación Económica
11 C 3-50, zona 1
Guatemala

Mario Aníbal Mejía
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 Económicas y Sociales
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# GLOSSARY*

abrazo -- embrace and back-patting, customary among members of the same and opposite sex, throughout Latin America

adivino -- type of shaman

aguardiente -- sugar cane rum liquor

ahbe -- in Jacaltenango, shaman-priest; see *chiman*

ahpish -- in Chinautla, permanent members (one male and one female) of the *cofradía* organization who are the spiritual advisors and leaders of rituals in the *cofradía* and in marriages; *ahpish* has key role of passing on *costumbres* and is controller and counterbalance to change, especially in religious tradition

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*This glossary provides a partial list of words (Spanish and/or Indian--Quiché, Cakchiquel, Mam, Kanjobal, etc.) that the reader may encounter in the text or in the course of his work in the Guatemalan highlands. The list is by no means a complete vocabulary of those languages. Word meanings may vary from region to region. Also, authorities do not always agree on spellings (for example, *chuchkajau* and *chuchkajaw*).

aire -- concept of wind or "airs" that cause illness: a common belief shared by many Middle American Indians and Ladinos

ajaw -- Quiché for "he of the collar"; refers to the Quiché aristocracy who lived in the palace before and during the time of the conquest

ajawab -- Quiché for *principales*

ajk'Ij -- Cakchiquel for "one who pertains to the days"; calendar shaman

ajtij -- Quiché for *cantor*

ak-itz -- Cakchiquel for witch

alaxEl -- Quiché for *capitana chiquita*

alaxic -- Quiché. In central highlands, means clan or lineage; invariably patrilineal. Spanish equivalent is *familias grandes*; persons of the same *alaxic* have the same name in Spanish or Maya

alcalde indígena -- official, chief, leader; the head of the *alcaldía segunda*, hence the Indian civil mayor; the principal authority whom Ladino government officials must call on for contact with the Indians. The final native court of appeal in disputes within the community

alcalde municipal -- *municipio* political leader; frequently a Ladino; formerly appointed by the national government through the departmental governors, but, since 1944 the office has been elective. Also called *alcalde principal*

alcalde principal -- see *alcalde municipal*

alcalde rezador -- chief prayermaker

alcaldía municipal -- municipality or civil administration representing the national government on a local level; usually Ladino and not to be confused with the *alcaldía segunda*. Officers include *alcalde municipal*, *regidores*, *síndico*, *alguaciles*, *secretario*, *tesorero*

alcaldía segunda -- Indian *alcaldía*; auxiliary to the official administration of a town; not simply a paper function but an integral part of community life; includes legislation of all Indian hamlet affairs, election of hamlet officials, contro of the *cofradías*, conduct of special rituals, and settling of disputes according to customary law. Officials mirror those of the *alcaldía municipal*, but all, of course, are Indians

ahijado -- term used by godparent when referrin to godchild aldea -- hamlet

alguacil -- *cargo* in the civil hierarchy; duties include policing of the townspeople and maintenance of the public buildings; a position held by the younger men of the community, hence one of the lower *cargos*; in some communities also an office in the religious hierarchy of about the same rank, sometimes known as *escuelix*; sometimes *alguaciles* can be of two rankings, one senior to the other; *alguacil* in the civil hierarchy may also be known as *mayor*

alkalte -- Quiché for *alcalde*

amak' -- Quiché for spider; used in the *Popol Vuh* to refer to hamlets or scattered settlements in the countryside

aqom be kalap -- Kanjobal: in Santa Eulalia, a community shaman-priest responsible for divinations, prayers, and ritual for public well-being; also called *Chiman del Pueblo* and *Chiman Nam* in other areas

ancianos -- see *principal*

atole -- thin gruel made with cornmeal and generally served hot

auxiliares -- assistants to the *regidores* in the civil-religious hierarchy

ax-tcum -- Kanjobal for "one who casts lots"; in Santa Eulalia, shaman-priest; see *chiman* barrio -- geographical subdivision of village or town, similar to ward in American city

bebida -- northwestern Guatemalan drink similar to *atole* but flavored with cacao

Big House -- lineage and palace of the Quiché as referred to in the *Popol Vuh*

brazada -- unit of measurement; two *varas*

brujo -- witch, sorcerer

burócrata -- bureaucrat

caballería -- plot of land--approximately thirty acres--assigned to Spaniards in the New World

cabecera -- head town of a *municipio*

cacique -- Indian boss or chief; at the time of the conquest, member of the local aristocracy; in another context, may also designate a person who exercises excessive influence in political or administrative matters in a town or region

cadejo -- Cakchiquel for a guardian or evil spirit in the form of a dog, who takes care of drunks or else causes them to become ill; sometimes seen as a kind of *characctel*

caites -- sandals worn by the Indians; made of leather or tire casings

caliente -- "hot" as opposed to *frío*, "cold"; refers to conceptual qualities or categories of environment;

classifications have nothing to do with actual temperature or, in the case of foods, blandness or spiciness. Rather, the concept deals with a balance between opposites, which may fluctuate between areas; as a general rule, hot and cold are temporary qualities of individuals but permanent attributes of things: a "hot" state in a person is akin to the Hippocratic concept of humors. Light-colored foods and liquids may be associated with cold, dark ones with heat; chickens may be considered hot, pork cold; chemical fertilizers are considered hot, manure cold. Importance of concept lies in maintaining a balance between the two for the preservation of physical and mental health; origins may be both European and indigenous

camarada -- friend; see *camaradería*

camaradería -- special friendship between two young Indians of the same sex; most common among the Pokomam

campesino -- peasant

cantón -- subdivision of a *municipio;* usually an Indian hamlet

cantor -- man who chants Latin prayers in church; since it requires specialized training, the office is not part of the religious hierarchy

capitana -- *cofradía* position; one of two positions in the civil-religious hierarchy that a woman can hold in her own right; highly honored position. Officeholder is responsible for keeping the clothes of the image in good repair, decorating the saint's altar, and cleaning the church; she is supposed to be an elderly woman of blameless reputation

capitana chiquita -- young girl who assists the *capitana* in cleaning the church, prepares food for the *capitana's* reception of the male members of the *cofradía*, marches in processions, and, at night, carries a candle before the first *alcalde* to light his way; supposed to be of blameless reputation

capixaij -- Mam for a woolen tunic worn by men

carcelero -- member of the civil hierarchy in charge of the key to the jail; also announces official orders and summons people to meetings

cargo -- a ranked office in the civil-religious hierarchy; each *cargo* has a different status associated with it; prestige increases as one moves up in the hierarchy; different *cargos* include *principal*, *regidor*, *alcalde*, etc.

caserío -- population aggregate smaller than *aldea*

castizo -- offspring of mestizo and Spaniard

catequistas -- reformists in the Catholic church who rooted out indigenous elements; i.e., opposed pagan ritual influence in Catholic religious ceremonies and attempted to break the power and influence of the *cofradías*

Católicos de Misa -- "Mass Catholics"; Indians who have been converted by Catholic missionaries toward more orthodox Catholic practices

chajal -- Quiché; lowest post of the religious hierarchy, filled by young boys who assist in the Catholic mass and run errands for the priest

characotel -- Cakchiquel; a term used by both Indians and Ladinos to designate the animal form a witch or spirit assumes to perform an evil deed (usually that of a cat, goat, dog, pig, owl, bat, or snake)

Chiapaneco -- in Santiago Chimaltenango, a supernatural being that appears in anthropomorphic form to test the hospitality of men; comes as a poor man begging for food and lodging and punishes those who refuse to help him; see also *Chiapas* and *ilūm k'inal*

Chiapas -- in Santa Eulalia and Jacaltenango, "Watchers of Time"; men who "just go around the streets and look and in this way care for the welfare of the whole community"; also known as *ilūm k'inal*; similar to *Chiapanecos* in Santiago Chimaltenango

Chicano -- Mexican-American

chilacayote -- member of the squash family, commonly raised together with maize and beans in the *milpa*

chiman -- Mam for "grandfather"; a term widely used in central highland Guatemala for a shaman

Chiman del Pueblo -- in Santiago Chimaltenango, a community shaman-priest responsible for divinations, prayers, and rituals for public well-being; also called *Chiman Nam* in other areas and *aqom be kalap* in the Kanjobal language

Chiman Fiador -- assistant to the community shaman-priest (Colotenango)

Chiman Nam -- in Todos Santos, community shaman-priest responsible for divinations, prayers, and rituals for public well-being; also called *Chiman del Pueblo* and *aqom be kalap* (Kanjobal) in other areas; see chapter 4, p. 281

chinamit -- "the cell of the ancient clan"; extended patrilineage in the Chuh region (northwestern Guatemala)

choca -- spice used in sauces

chol k'ij -- Quiché for sacred 260-day cycle, or "count of the days," consisting of thirteen numbers endlessly combined with twenty names of days that comprised the archaic Maya calendar, basic to all other calendars of Guatemala; also called *tzolkin*; see *uinal* and chapter 1, pp. 90-92

cholo -- South American term for mestizo: person of mixed Spanish-Indian blood

chu -- Kanjobal for sweat bath; see *temascal*

chuchkahaw -- see *chuchkajaw*

chuchkajau -- Quiché; in El Palmar, a man responsible for performing the traditional customs of marriage; hired by the father of the prospective groom to act as broker or "go-between" on his son's behalf; arranges details, comes to terms with the bride's father on such things as bride price. Frequently but not necessarily a shaman; also known as *parlamentero* (Spanish); alternative spellings: *chuchkajaw* or *chuchkahaw*; see *chuchkajaw* for meaning in central highlands

chuchkajaw -- Quiché; in central highland Guatemala, head of a clan; a Maya priest; usually called *brujo* in Spanish, although that term is also used to refer to a witch. The *chuchkajaw* burns *copal* and gives candle and flower offerings to the gods, especially the earth god, *Dios Mundo*. See *chuchkajau* for meaning in El Palmar

chuj -- Mam for sweat bath; see *temascal*

cofrade -- member of a *cofradía*; also an alternate term for *mayordomo* cofradía -- Indian religious fraternity hierarchically organized; formerly integrated with the Indian civil offices but now usually separate. Members (*cofrades*) prepare the religious celebrations of saints' days; celebrations contain elements of Catholic and Maya ritual (*costumbre*)

colono -- tenant farmer, or tenant farm

comadrona -- midwife

comal -- circular ceramic griddle on which tortillas are cooked

compadrazgo -- relationship between *compadres*, which entails great respect between those involved as well as certain responsibilities and taboos, such as forbidding marriage between those who stand in a *compadre* relationship to one another

compadre -- co-parent. A person wishing to have his child baptized approaches the prospective godparent and asks him to be his *compadre*. If the latter agrees, the relationship between the parents of the child and the godparents becomes one of *compadrazgo*. *Compadres* show the greatest respect for one another and address each other as *compadre* (*comadre* if the one addressed is a female). Godparents have certain responsibilities regarding the child's welfare. *Compadre* relationships of lesser importance also exist between the parental in-laws of a married couple (*compadres de* *matrimonio*), between parents and one who has helped cure a sickly or frightened child by taking it for a second "baptism" (*compadre de evangelio*), or between the parents and the one who sponsors a child's first communion (*compadre de comulgación*)

concierto -- in Colotenango, a series of ceremonies that formalize a marriage; they usually take place when the bride has become pregnant

copal -- incense used in religious rituals

corporación municipal -- the main formal decision-making body of the *alcaldía municipal*; made up of the *alcalde*, *regidores* and *síndico*

corredor -- porch-like area adjoining a house; used for lounging and storage

corte -- female Indian attire: a large piece of cloth wrapped around the waist, which serves as a skirt

costumbre -- custom, tradition; pertains to marriage, agricultural rituals, curing, prayer, etc; includes Maya and Christian elements

costumbrista -- one who adheres to *costumbre*

Creole -- person of pure Spanish blood born in the New World

cuerda -- unit of measurement of area; varies from region to region, depending on the number of *varas* per side; for example, in San Martin Jilotepeque, Chimaltenango, *cuerda de a veinte* is used (twenty *varas* square); in Aguacatán, Huehuetenango, the *cuerda de a veinticinco* (twenty-five *varas* square) is most common. See also *manzana*, *brazada*

curandero -- healer who treats illness by medical or magical means

departmento -- department, territorial administrative government unit established by the national government

duende -- Cakchiquel for an Indian spirit who sometimes kidnaps children; also known as *sombrerón*; see p. 346 of chapter 5

Dueños de Cerros -- "Owners of the Mountains"; local deities, particularly important in Mam-speaking communities. Each has a mountainside shrine where prayers are offered. Described anthropomorphically, sometimes as blond men wearing the costume of colonial Spaniards and said to inhabit the mountains they "own"; dangerous because they attract the souls of the dead to work for them everlastingly inside the mountain; *T'auwitz* in Mam

elote -- corn on the cob

ejido -- communal plot of land distributed by the government encomendero -- grandee or overlord of an *encomienda*

encomienda -- grant given to a Spanish conquistador for his service to the Crown; consists of rights to Indian labor and tribute; later given for other kinds of service to the Crown

envidia -- envy; *hacer envidia* is the act of using witchery to make evil befall an envied person. See chapter 5, p. 349

escuelix -- *cargo* (office) of low status in the religious hierarchy; young boys hold these positions and are assigned to such duties as cleaning the church

espanto -- see *susto*; may also pertain to any evil spirit that, by definition, causes fright

finca -- plantation

finquero -- owner of a *finca*

fiscal -- caretaker of the church

frío -- cold, as opposed to *caliente*, hot; see *caliente*

gabán -- a slipover outer garment like a long *huipil*, worn by men of Panajachel; made of heavy black wool

gracejo -- comic dance performed in Santiago Chimaltenango and Santa Eulalia during Easter Week

guardia rural -- local rural police force, comprised of Ladinos, that assists in a *municipio's* administration

guaro -- alcoholic beverage made from cane, widely used at religious ceremonies

güipil -- see *huipil*

güisquil -- see *huisquil*

haab -- Maya calendar cycle of 360 days, followed by a 5-day terminal period (*uayeb*); 360-day cycle made up of 18 *uinal* periods

hacendado -- owner of an hacienda

huipil -- traditional Indian woman's blouse of decoratively embroidered or woven cotton

huisquil -- popular type of squash; *chayote*

Il de Dios -- Mam (in Santiago Chimaltenango) for the concept of guilt or supernatural punishment; illness, a difficult childbirth, the loss of a corn crop, almost any misfortune is attributed to "punishment" by the supernatural and to the "guilt" of the individual, which extends to his or her descendants; called *Ilya* in Colotenango

ilūm k'inal -- see *Chiapas*

Ilya -- Mam; used in Colotenango for *Il de Dios*

Incaparina -- protein supplement in flour form, derived from INCAP (Instituto de Nutrición de Centro América y Panamá) and *harina* (Spanish for flour) izote -- cactus plant

jícaro -- gourd

jornalero -- Indian migrant worker

juzgado -- town hall

jwin -- man who has the power to magically transform himself into an animal at night and goes about robbing and taking sexual advantage of women

koman kuru -- Kanjobal for a large cross that stands in front of the church; also called *mimañ kuru*

Koman kurus -- Kanjobal for "the Cross of our Fathers"; family cross "planted" in the house of the family head; the central object on the household altar. Family head prays to this cross for his entire group, and younger members come and pray to it

Ladino -- person of mixed parentage (Indian-Spanish) who follows Spanish rather than indigenous way of life

latifundio -- large Ladino landholding -- average size over 1,000 acres -- comprising about one-half the total land of Guatemala and held by less than 1 percent of the people

lechuza -- in the Pokomam region, a person charmed at birth who can become invisible in order to steal; makes his presence known by whistling; also *lichua*

lichua -- see *lechuza*

llorona -- in San Lucas Tolimán, female spirit who tempts enamored males and causes illness and death; considered to be strictly a Ladino spirit; also called siquanaba; Indian equivalent called mixonél; see chapter 5, pp. 345-346

machete -- Indian and Ladino cutting implement, like a large knife, used in clearing land and so forth

madrina -- term employed by godchild when referring to his godmother; see also padrino

maestro cantor -- prayer-reciter who serves for life and is a participant in cofradía ritual although not formally a part of the hierarchy; found in some lake communities

mal de ojo -- label given any general complaint of an infant or child, implying that the weakness of the child has left him open to harm from outside; also called ojo; not necessarily the result of evil or intentional damage; can be caused by anyone strong by nature (or temporarily "hot" or strong) who touches, fondles, or comes near the child; usually caused by a stranger, but may be caused by a friend (who will then be asked to help in the cure); an adult may also be a victim of mal de ojo; not a specific eye ailment; not adequately translated as "evil eye" manzana -- land measurement equal to one hundred square *varas* (1.72 acres); one square mile equals 372.09 *manzanas*

mayor -- see *alguacil*

mayordomo -- *cargo* of the religious hierarchy held by an adult male whose duties are chiefly to care for the images of saints or other sacred objects in his home and to sponsor religious festivals for the benefit of other *cargo* holders and members of the community; has several levels and service in this *cargo* may extend into old age

mestizaje -- mixing; see mestizo

mestizo -- person of mixed parentage (Indian-Spanish) who follows a life style more Spanish than indigenous; in Guatemala, called a Ladino

metate -- grinding stone

milpa -- agricultural plot for maize, squash, and beans grown by the Indians; by extension, the traditional agricultural process itself; plots often very small, about 1.7 acres (one *manzana*); many sacred ideas and rituals associated with *milpa* agriculture, mostly expressed in magical practices designed to influence sky deities (sun, rain gods, wind, etc.); a functioning ideological and economic system with a number of interrelated and interdependent parts mimañ kuru -- Kanjobal; see *koman kuru*

minifundio -- as opposed to *latifundio*, a very small plot of land, averaging under three acres in size; held by more than one-half of all farmers in Guatemala

mixonél -- Cakchiquel; see *llorona*. May also be considered to be caretaker of the graveyard or spirit of the lake

mocún -- member of the squash family; *ayote*

monte -- a wild, remote place--not recessarily mountainous--with few or no human inhabitants and an abundance of natural vegetation

mordida -- a form of tipping public officials to ensure that any business transacted with the government does not run into lengthy delays; the official may at times refuse to legalize documents until he has received something "extra" for his efforts

morral -- bag worn over the shoulder

mortoma -- Quiché for *mayordomo*

mozo -- day laborer, generally on a plantation

mulato -- offspring of Negro and Spaniard

municipio -- municipality; territorial administrative unit designated by the national government

nagual -- alter-ego in animal form; the term is sometimes employed to mean transforming witch; also *nahual*

nahual -- see *naqual*

natural -- Indian

nima chichu -- Quiché for "great lady"; *capitana*

Nimak tak winak -- Quiché for *principales*

nixtamal -- maize cooked in limewater, ready to be washed and ground; for making *tortillas*, etc.

ocote -- splinters of resinous pine used for kindling and torches

ojo -- see *mal de ojo*

ornato -- tax on heads of families by national government

padrino -- term employed by godchild when referring to godfather; see also *madrina*

panela -- brown, unrefined sugar

parlamentero -- see *chuchkajau*

pasados -- see *principal*

patrón -- boss; may also be used to designate person considered to be of higher social standing; for example, Peace Corps Volunteer, Ladino agricultural extension agent, and so forth

pedimiento -- initiation of bargaining in a formal marriage proposal

perraje -- woven rectangular shawl (cotton) worn by Indian women; very versatile; often used to carry children; also called *tzute* petate -- palm mat on which Indians sleep

pican -- Kanjobal; in Santa Eulalia, a companion spirit that corresponds to the *nagual*; often fused with the European werewolf concept; *T'kelel* in the Mam language, in Santiago Chimaltenango

pila -- fountain; community well

pIxkar -- Quiché for *fiscal*

pixon -- Kanjobal for soul or spirit

principal (pl.: principales)
-- member of a group of respected elders of a community who has passed the rank of *alcalde* in the civil or religious hierarchy; in some cases, a formal body, limited in number and selected from among past *alcaldes*, who constitute a permanent locus of authority; in other cases, simply elder statesmen participating in policy-making according to their inclinations and abilities. Sometimes the *principales* rather than the *alcaldes* have the chief power and responsibility for appointing others to *cargos*. Also called *pasados* or *ancianos*

posol -- thin gruel made by mixing boiled maize with cold water; the basic Indian lunch while working in the fields; men take it with them on journeys

pudor -- modesty or virtue in a woman

puesto -- Indian friendship; formal relationship with a prescribed role and status; see *camaradería*

pulque -- traditional drink of indigenous people in Mexico; made from fermented juice of the agave cactus

quetzal -- Guatemalan unit of currency at a par with U.S. dollar

quintal -- one hundred pounds (of maize, beans, bunchgrass, etc.)

rancho -- Indian dwelling

ranima kaminak -- Cakchiquel for the spirits of deceased witches, spiritualists, and similarly evil people, who because of their deeds have been doomed to eternal suffering on earth; they come forth at night to harm mortals. See chapter 5, pp. 347-348

raza -- race

La Raza -- term employed by Mexican-Americans; it embraces ethnic, genetic, and cultural heritage and consciousness

regidor -- councilman; *cargo* in both civil and religious hierarchies and a position in the *alcaldía municipal*; most common and important is the *cargo* in the civil hierarchy with functions that include collecting taxes, supervising communal work, settling disputes and supervising the lower ranks in the religious hierarchy; the *regidor* is mainly responsible for knowing who is eligible for the lower *cargos* and capable of holding them; in the *alcaldía municipal*, one of the chief officials who represent the national government on a local level: an elective post

regidor ayudante -- assistant *regidor*

rezador -- "prayermaker"; in northwestern Guatemala, an *alcalde rezador* and twelve *rezadores* perform ritual (*hacer costumbre*) for the people, crops, and welfare of the community; they serve for one year

rodilleras -- blanket kilts made of wool, worn by Indian men in the mid-western highlands

sacristán -- ritual specialist associated with the *mayordomo cargo* of the religious hierarchy, although not formally part of the hierarchy; does not exist in all communities; may be a lifetime position that frees the incumbent from serving in the regular hierarchy; an alternative for the man who is religiously inclined and does not have the financial reserves or personal qualities necessary to pass through the civil or religiou hierarchy

secretario -- secretary; in the *alcaldía municipal*, a paid official, usually a Ladino, whose influence is increased if his superiors are Indian; in the *alcaldía segunda* there is also a *secretari cargo*, which differs from the former only in that the holder is an Indian who is not paid servicio -- holding a *cargo* (position) in the civil or religious hierarchy; one year is most common duration for servicio in each *cargo*; then one year's rest is taken before assuming the next position

shaman -- Indian priest-diviner who acts as an intermediary between individuals or families and the supernaturals; performs *costumbre* for clients in cases of illness, marriage, or other occasions when the help of the supernatural is sought; usually divines to learn the cause of illness or bad luck, to prognosticate the success of a marriage or a trading trip, then carries out the appropriate ritual; guardian of the psychic and social equilibrium of individuals and the group; distinguished from the *brujo*, who performs evil witchcraft, and from the *curandero*, a simple curer without the social and psychic responsibilities of a shaman; see chapter 4

siguanaba -- see *llorona*

síndico -- a type of city manager whose duties include inspecting public works, supervising public public funds, and giving advice on technical matters

socio -- member (of a cooperative)

sombrerón -- see *duende*

susto -- a condition that results from a tense emotional experience, such as being startled, falling, even discovering one's husband with another woman; widely associated with soul-loss;

also called *espanto*; commonly translated as fright-sickness. Symptoms vary but generally include indifferent attitude, loss of appetite, disinterest in personal hygiene, weak physical state, depression, and introversion. See chapter 5, p. 348

tamal -- a native food of minced, seasoned meat and vegetables rolled in corn meal, wrapped in a corn husk, and steamed

T'auwitz -- Mam for *Dueños de Cerros*

Tecpan -- palace of the Quiché Indians, cited in the *Popol Vuh*

temascal -- sweat bath; free-standing structure in which steam is produced by throwing water on hot stones; used daily for bathing, on occasion for curing, and customarily for the treatment and massaging of expectant mothers by midwives; called *chuj* in Mam, *chu* in Kanjobal, and *tuj* in Quiché

tenemastes -- hearthstones. Respectful care of them is a requisite for a happy home

tepanco -- Kanjobal for attic; open space between house beams and roof; often used as storage place for dried corn

tesorero -- treasurer; in the *alcaldía municipal*, a paid official of the national government, usually a Ladino; although not a senior official, his influence increases if his superiors are Indians; there is also a *tesorero cargo* in the *alcaldía segunda*, which differs from the former only in that it is held by an Indian, who is not paid

testigo -- "witness"; impartial third party who acts as "go-between" in arranging marriages

tierra caliente -- "hot" land: hot region of Guatemala below 1,000 metres (3,280 feet); annual mean temperature 71.6 degrees F.

tierra fría -- "cold" land: cool region of Guatemala, above two thousand meters (6,562 feet); annual mean temperature 60.8 degrees F.

tierra templada -- "temperate" land; between *tierra caliente* and *tierra fría* in both altitude and temperature

tinaja -- water jar

título -- title to land; territorial claim by members of leading descent lines, including narrative history of events; may be either pre-Hispanic or post-conquest; native *títulos* often presented to the Spanish Crown as claims for *cacique* privileges for the native nobility

T'kelel -- see *pican*

tuj -- Quiché for sweat bath; see *temascal*

tzolkin -- see *chol k'ij*

tzute -- generic term for a woven piece of cloth, of various sizes and uses; often cloth worn by women on the head to shade them from sun or soften pressure of a heavy load; also, cloth worn by men on the head or around the neck, or, if larger, over the shoulders; cloth used to carry items; *perraje* included in this general category

uayeb -- in the Maya calendar, the 5-day terminal period which follows calendar cycle of 360 days (*haab*); the five days of the *uayeb* are considered dangerous and therefore are unnamed

uinal -- Maya calendar period of 20 days; each day is considered favorable or unfavorable for planting or hunting, for prayers, for the ill, and for almost every other kind of human activity

vara -- unit of measurement; distance from one's nose to the fingertips of the arm when it is extended sideways at shoulder level

warabol ja -- Quiché for an Indian altar with stones and broken pottery arranged in the form of a box

xe'o'n -- Mam for *comal*

xeteil -- Quiché for the lineage of a clan

zambo -- offspring of one Indian parent and one Negro parent

zahorín -- see *zajorín*

zajorín -- apprentice *chiman*

# SELECTED ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY OF THE MAYA HIGHLANDS

by R. Ann Aguirre

This bibliography is intended to serve as a guide to further study of the contemporary highland Maya world, especially in Guatemala. Since guided culture change is a complex process requiring an understanding of the history, economics, politics, sociology, ideology and psychology of a people, the scope of the bibliography, while not exhaustive, is necessarily broad. Stress was laid on relevance to problems of culture change and on studies offering background material as well as illustrations of the present-day cultural picture. It should be pointed out that because rural Maya culture transcends modern political boundaries, many of the studies made in southeastern Mexico, especially Chiapas, may be as revelant to an understanding of the Guatemalan Indian as those actually made on Guatemalan soil.

Organization is by author rather than by topic or language group. Where possible, Spanish translations and additional sources have been noted.

The publications of the Seminario de Integración Social Guatemalteca and the

Instituto Indigenista Nacional of Guatemala deserve special mention. Most, if not all, have been included here. Readers residing in Guatemala should acquaint themselves with these institutions and the wide variety of information, in the form of books, journals, articles and published and unpublished field notes, available through them. Also, the library of the Instituto de Nutrición de Centro América y Panamá (INCAP) may prove a valuable source of general as well as specific information on Maya communities.

Adams, Richard N.

1951 "Informe preliminar sobre la organización social de Magdalena Milpas Altas." _Antropología e Historia de Guatemala_ 3(2):9-16.

Description of the social organization of Magdalena Milpas Altas, Sacatepéquez, a Cakchiquel-speaking village. There are three types of organization besides the Indian-Ladino social groupings. First is the family. Second are voluntary groups--the _posada_ for unmarried boys (the boys actually sleep in the same house) and groups formed by 3 or 4 girls who make one-day trips together to sell their products in nearby towns. Third is the barrio, which in Magdalena is very important politically, religiously and socially. Good description. No attempt at analysis.

1952 *Un análisis de las creencias y practicas medicas en un pueblo indigena de Guatemala.* Publicaciones Especiales del Instituto Indigenista Nacional, no. 17. Guatemala City: Editorial del Ministerio de Educación Pública.

Starting from the premise that the system of medical beliefs among the Mayan Indians is very different from our own and that knowledge of these beliefs is essential for success of modern health programs, Adams analyzes material from Magdalena Milpas Altas, Sacatepéquez, to determine the logical premises utilized in the perception, analysis, explanation, and treatment of illness. He examines the system in detail before discussing the introduction of changes into the system and compares his findings in Magdalena with those reported for other Maya areas. Excellent treatment of the medical system. His discussion of changes in the system should prove helpful.

1955 "A Nutritional Research Program in Guatemala." In *Health, Culture, and Community: Case Studies of Public Reactions to Health Programs*, edited by Benjamin D. Paul, pp. 435-58. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.

Examination of types of obstacles to change and how they were dealt with in the implementation of a nutritional research program in Magdalena Milpas Altas, Sacatepéquez, in 1950. For example, the social worker attached to the program had unwittingly become associated with one barrio which made her unacceptable in the other. Local beliefs about blood, and fears that children who participated in the program were to be eaten, also had to be dealt with.

In Spanish: "Un programa de investigaciones sobre nutrición en Guatemala." In Cultura indígena de Guatemala: Ensayos de antropología social, 2d rev. ed., edited by Jorge Luis Arriola, pp. 267-302. Seminario de Integración Social Guatemalteca, Publicación no. 1. Guatemala City: Tipografía Nacional, 1959.

1957a "Part Four: Guatemala. 1955." In Cultural Surveys of Panama - Nicaragua - Guatemala - El Salvador - Honduras, by Richard N. Adams, pp. 261-412. Pan American Sanitary Bureau Scientific Publications, no. 33. Washington: Pan American Sanitary Bureau.

Description of Spanish-speaking rural cultures of Guatemala: Ladino vis-à-vis Indian, the process of ladinoization, rural Ladino culture and society--economic activities, political organization, religious activities, and sickness and the spirit world. Various Ladino communities visited in survey trip are described.

In Spanish: Encuesta sobre la cultura de los ladinos en Guatemala. 2d ed. Seminario de Integración Social Guatemalteca, Publicación no. 2. Guatemala City: Ministerio de Educación Pública, 1964.

1957b Political Changes in Guatemalan Indian Communities: A Symposium. Middle American Research Institute Publication no. 14. New Orleans: Middle American Research Institute, Tulane University.

Results of a symposium to examine political changes in Guatemalan Indian communities. Although Adams indicates in the introduction that these changes will be related to acculturation and assimilation of the community, the connections are not always made explicit. Adams' contention is that with the "destruction of or violent alterations in the socio-political structure...the Indians' resistance to culture change began to disintegrate" (p. 48). Good treatment of the political changes themselves as well as the effect of the 1944 revolution on local communities.

1961 "El indio y el crecimiento nacional en América Central." Política.

Caracas, no. 15:62-72.

The Indian in Central America is often seen as an important obstacle to national development. Adams suggests that "while under certain conditions it would be reasonable to accuse the Indian of being an inhibiting factor in national development...these conditions do not in fact exist today in any part of Central America" (p. 62). He summarizes the history of the area briefly as it relates to Indians and development. He concludes that Indians *per se* cannot be an impediment to development--Guatemala's Indians account for 54.5% of its population while Honduras, Nicaragua and El Salvador are as underdeveloped as Guatemala, and Indians compose less than 10% of their populations. The political and economic state of the Indians, however, can be considered as an index of the development of the nation as a whole.

1962 "The Community in Latin America: A Changing Myth." *Centennial Review* 6:409-34.

Exploration of the myth of the community in Latin America as "a natural grouping that has special characteristics leading to its perpetuation in the face of threats from the outside" (p. 409). Indigenous communities, according to the author, are most often viewed as this kind. He finds that contemporary evidence derived from scientific community studies and reports on community development does not support the myth, except for some so-called corporate communities found in certain parts of the Meso-American and Andean highlands.

1966 "Guatemalan Internal Migration: Agrarian Kekchí Indian Expansion into the Petén." In *XXXVI Congreso Internacional de Americanistas, Sevilla, 1964*: *Actas y memorias*, vol. 3, edited by Alfredo Jimenez Núñez, pp. 383-99. Seville: Editorial Católica Española.

Study carried out in 1963-64 on the migratory pattern of the Kekchí Indians indicates that there has been a major permanent migration from Alta Verapaz to the Petén since 1950.

In Spanish: *Migraciones internas en Guatemala: Expansión agraria de los indígenas kekchíes hacia el Petén.* Estudios Centroamericanos no. 1. Guatemala City: Ministerio de Educación, 1965.

1967 "Nationalization." In *Handbook of Middle American Indians*, vol. 6, edited by Manning Nash, pp. 469-89. Austin: University of Texas Press.

Examination of factors involved in the incorporation of Middle

American Indians into national life, putting the phenomenon into a historical context: reasons the problem exists today, policies followed in the past toward incorporation, national differences in policies and action, etc. Each country's efforts to incorporate the Indian at various times in history are discussed. The article provides background to the present situation of the Indians vis-à-vis the national culture.

1968 "El problema del desarrollo político a la luz de la reciente historia sociopolítica de Guatemala." *Revista Latinoamericana de Sociología* 4(2):174-98.

Comparison of the political development of the rural population of Guatemala under three different governments--Ubico, Arévalo and Arbenz, and Castillo Armas--and study of the role played by the United States in the process. Under Ubico's regime there was almost total centralization of political power. Arévalo and Arbenz tried to teach the rural population to act in an organized way through labor unions and associations. The United States then financed the Castillo Armas revolt which was followed by widespread persecutions. (Due to fear, the rural people gave up participation in any sort of organization. The crucial role of the U.S. in restraining incipient political development considered negative to its own political and economic interests is discussed.)

Also available: Institute of Latin American Studies Offprint Series, no. 79. Austin: Institute of Latin American Studies, University of Texas.

1970 Crucifixion by Power: Essays on Guatemalan National Social Structure, 1944-1966. Austin: University of Texas Press.

Richard Adams's view of the nation as a basic social unit is central to this study in social anthropology, explaining how Guatemala has reached the difficult circumstances in which it finds itself today. The author believes that Guatemala, as a small nation within the general domain of the U.S., is caught in the developmental hinterland of that powerful neighbor, and that the U.S., within its own capitalistic development pattern and in competition with other leading world powers, cannot allow the smaller nation to resolve its own political and social problems. Thus Guatemala finds itself crucified by unyielding and uncontrollable power plays beyond its national borders. Adams also examines Guatemala's internal power structure and its impact on "development", which he says has been principally in terms of what is advantageous to the major powers rather than Guatemala itself.

n.d. El sector agrario inferior de Guatemala 1944-1965. Institute of Latin American Studies Offprint Series, no. 64. Austin: University of Texas at Austin.

Brief description of Guatemala's organizational development comparing the subsistence agriculture sector and the developed sector during the periods of 1944-54 and 1954-65. Government support of such development in the subsistence sector and the complete reversal of that policy which followed caused great reluctance to join any organization. This is only recently beginning to fade. Adams notes the lack of evidence that recent economic development on the national level is benefiting the subsistence sector (sector inferior), where population is increasing while gross national product from that area has decreased.

Reprinted from: Les Problèmes agraires des Amèriques Latines, pp. 125-31. Paris: Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1967.

Adams, Richard N., and Rubel, Arthur J.

1967 "Sickness and Social Relations." In *Handbook of Middle American Indians*, vol. 6, edited by Manning Nash, pp. 333-55. Austin: University of Texas Press.

Review of the principal features of illness, diagnosis, and curing in contemporary Middle American Indian communities, relating them specifically to the context of social relations within which they operate. Very valuable.

Also available: Institute of Latin American Studies Offprint Series, no. 62. Austin: Institute of Latin American Studies, University of Texas.

Aguirre Beltrán, Gonzalo

1954 *Teoría y práctica de la educación indígena*. Mexico, D.F.: Instituto Nacional Indigenista.

Critical examination of the experiences of the Instituto Nacional Indigenista of Mexico in education among Indian groups.

1955 *Programas de salud en la situación intercultural*. Mexico, D.F.: Instituto Indigenista Interamericano.

Realizing that social factors are important in the recognition, prevention and treatment of illness, the author discusses factors to be considered in the implementation of health programs among the various Indian populations in Mexico. The establishment of general health programs, cleaning up the environment, nutrition, prenatal and postnatal care, preventive medicine and hygiene education are among the topics covered in this comprehensive study of problems arising from cultural differences. Written by a medical doctor and anthropologist, this is an invaluable introduction and source of information for health workers in intercultural programs.

Andrade, Manuel José

1946a Materials on the Mam, Jacaltec, Aquacatec, Chuj, Bachahom, Palencano and Lacandon Languages. Microfilm Collection of Manuscripts on American Indian Cultural Anthropology, 2d series, no. 10. Chicago: University of Chicago Library.

1946b Materials on the Quiché, Cakchiquel and Tzutuhil Languages. Microfilm Collection of Manuscripts on American Indian Cultural Anthropology, 2d series, no. 11. Chicago: University of Chicago Library.

1946c Materials on the Kekchí and Pokoman Languages. Microfilm Collection of Manuscripts on American Indian Cultural Anthropology, 2d series, no. 12. Chicago: University of Chicago Library.

Appelbaum, Richard P.

1966 "Seasonal Migration in San Ildefonso Ixtahuacán: Its Causes and Consequences." Public and International Affairs 4:117-58.

Study of the economic problems of a Mam-speaking village in Huehuetenango with particular emphasis on the causes and consequences of seasonal migrations to work on the fincas. The author examines the Indian economy, agricultural problems, lack of local economic opportunities, consumption patterns, migration causes, conditions of migration and the Indian's attitude toward it. The main reason for migration is shortage of land, which forces the Indians to earn money to buy additional corn. Although plantation work provides the only present alternative to altering basic values and attitudes (or starving), it is not generally considered a satisfactory alternative and is a major source of irritation. Provides good information.

In Spanish: San Ildefonso Ixtahuacán, Guatemala: Un estudio sobre la migración temporal, sus causas y consecuencias. Cuadernos del Seminario de Integración Social Guatemalteca, no. 17. Guatemala City: Ministerio de Educación, 1967.

Arias B., Jorge

1961 "Aspectos demográficos de la población de Guatemala." *Guatemala Indígena* 1(2):5-39.

Analysis of characteristics of the Indian population based principally on the 1950 census. Arias discusses distribution, numbers in various sex and age groups, civil status, cultural level, language, religion, food and dress, economic characteristics, mortality, etc., including differences between Indian and Ladino populations. Mainly statistical.

1962 "El analfabetismo en Guatemala." *Guatemala Indígena* 2(3):7-20.

Largely statistical article on illiteracy in Guatemala (based mainly on the 1950 census).

Arriola, Jorge Luis

1941 *Pequeño diccionario de voces guatemaltecas ordenadas etimologicamente*. Guatemala City: Tipografía Nacional.

1956 *Integración social en Guatemala*. Seminario de Integración Social Guatemalteca, Publicación no. 3. Guatemala City: Tipografía Nacional de Guatemala.

Result of a symposium held in 1956 to present and discuss works relevant to the problem of social integration in Guatemala. Regional integration, integration in the social structure, economic integration and the emerging national culture are treated. Although many of the articles by North Americans have been published previously in English, this work is valuable because it brings works dealing with social integration together and presents comments on the papers.

1959 Integración social en Guatemala. Vol. 2. Seminario de Integración Social Guatemalteca, Publicación no. 9. Guatemala City: Editorial del Ministerio de Educación Pública.

Second volume resulting from a symposium held in 1956 to discuss the problem of social integration in Guatemala. Summaries of the papers and comments published in the first volume (subsequently out of print) are presented followed by discussions generated by each.

1964 "Métodos y resultados de la acción indigenista en Guatemala." In XXXV Congreso Internacional de Americanistas, México, 1962: Actas y memorias, vol. 2, edited by Santiago Genovés T., pp. 329-35. Mexico, D.F.: Editorial Libros de México.

Report on the plans, methods and results of two institutions working with the Indian populations of Guatemala: the Instituto Indigenista Nacional and the Seminario de Integración Social Guatemalteca.

Beal, George M., and Sibley, Donald N.

1967 *Adoption of Agricultural Technology by the Indians of Guatemala.* Department of Sociology and Anthropology Rural Sociology Report no. 62. Ames, Iowa: Iowa State University.

The main purpose of this study was to determine variables related to the speed and intensity of adoption of agricultural technology among Quiché Indians in the municipality of Cantel, Department of Quezaltenango. Independent variables considered were (1) predispositional factors--attitudes, knowledge levels, personal characteristics and past behavior; (2) immediate environmental variables--farm characteristics; and (3) perceptions--of specific attributes of inputs, markets, credit and transportation. A second purpose was to determine whether there can be a cross-cultural application of some of the concepts from "adoption-diffusion" research developed in the United States. A brief background of the situation of the Indian in Guatemala with emphasis on the Cantel region precedes a very detailed discussion of the research--the conceptual framework, data collection and analysis methodology, findings and implications. While the findings of this study clearly have implications for change agents, th report is written on a high level of abstraction. It may be quite instructive for future research projects, but in its present form is not particularly useful for the average field agent.

Beal, George M.; Coward, E. Walter, Jr.; and
Klonglan, Gerald E.

1967 Emerging Patterns of Commerical Farming in a Subsistence Farm Economy: An Analysis of Indian Farmers in Guatemala. Departmen of Sociology and Anthropology Rural Sociology Report no. 68. Ames, Iowa: Iowa State Universi

Assuming that conversion from subsistence agriculture to commercial agriculture is a requisite for the total devel ment of a nation, this study concerns itself with the relationship between an individual's potential for becomi a commercial farmer and his social and social-psychologic orientation to his situation. Data from a previous study (Beal and Sibley, Adoption of Agricultural Technology by th Indians of Guatemala, 1967) are used to test hypotheses regarding an individual's per sonal characteristics and his orientation to resource objects and societal norms as related to his degree of commercialization in farming. Some implications for change agents are suggested. However, the level of abstraction and emphasis on hypothesis testing minimize the practical value of this highly theoretical study.

Béhar, Moisés

1963 "The Story of Incaparina: Utilization of Available Sources of Vegetable Protein for Human Feeding." Journal of the American Medical Women's Association 18(5):384-88.

Historical treatment of the development of Incaparina--a protein supplement utilizing vegetable protein which nutritionally takes the place of milk. The cultural factors which had to be taken into account, the development of the flour, its testing--both for nutritional value and acceptance by the public--and subsequent commercial distribution are discussed. Good article for information on this product, with implications for similar projects.

Béhar, Moisés; Ascoli, W.; and Scrimshaw, Nevin S.

1958 "Investigation into the Causes of Death in Children in Four Rural Communities in Guatemala." World

Health Organization, Bulletin 19: 1093-1102.

Since preliminary investigations had suggested that deaths due to malnutrition were listed under other causes, a study was conducted in four Guatemalan villages to determine the exact cause of death in persons under 15 years of age. It was found that poor nutrition was a secondary factor in many, if not most, of the deaths reported and that it was the third largest cause of death in itself, following congenital malformations and respiratory diseases. Not one death by malnutrition was diagnosed as such by local persons. Technical article, but valuable.

Béhar, Moisés; Arroyave, G.; Flores, Marina; and Scrimshaw, Nevin S.

1960 "The Nutritional Status of Children of Preschool Age in the Guatemalan Community of Amatitlán: 2. Comparison of Dietary, Clinical and Biochemical Findings." British Journal of Nutrition 14:217-30.

Adequacy of diet of a group of children under 7 years of age was tested by physical examination, biochemical analysis of blood samples, and dietary history. Growth retardation alone suggested that nearly all of the children were grossly malnourished and this was borne out by the other tests. Hair changes of the type found in Kwashiorkor were common.

Benson, Elizabeth P.

1967 The Maya World. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Co.

Study of the ancient Maya of Yucatán and lowland Guatemala. The author first treats the mysteries of the civilization--the reasons for its rise, its accomplishments and its decline--as well as a history of the efforts to solve these mysteries. She then discusses the known aspects of the civilization--place and people, cities they built, agriculture and trade, artifacts and artisans, science and religion, and the decline of their civilization as well as their early contacts with Europeans.

Bremmé de Santos, Ida

1964/65 "La cofradía en Guatemala." Cuadernos del Instituto Nacional de Antropología, Buenos Aires, 5:91-99.

General discussion of the *cofradía* in Guatemala. Some discussion of historical sources. Data drawn from author's field work in the *municipio* of Mixco (close to Guatemala City) indicates the robustness of the ceremonial organization in the face of open opposition by political authorities.

Britnell, G. E.

1951 "Problems of Economic and Social Change in Guatemala." Canadian Journal of Economic and Political Science 17:468-81.

Theoretical approach to solution of economic and social problems in Guatemala treating first the problems of agriculture and the rural economy and then those of industrial development. Although the author clearly recognizes the magnitude of the problems involved, he seems unduly optimistic about the possibility of their solution and puts forth his suggestions for solution as though they were proven methods.

In Spanish: "Problemas del cambio económico y social en Guatemala." In Economía de Guatemala, edited by Jorge Luis Arriola, pp. 47-77. Seminario de Integración Social Guatemalteca, Publicación no. 6. Guatemala City: Editorial del Ministerio de Educación Pública, 1958.

Bunzel, Ruth

1940 "The Role of Alcoholism in Two Central American Cultures." Psychiatry 3:361-88.

The social role of alcohol today, its historical role and the social factors which contribute to its importance in Chamula, Mexico, and Chichicastenango, Guatemala, are discussed. Although alcoholism is very common in both communities, the approach to drinking and behavior under the influence of alcohol differ greatly. The author attributes this to the very real differences in the two societies. Valuable comparison of the two societies as a whole rather than the role of alcohol per se.

In Spanish: "El papel del alcoholismo en dos culturas mesoamericanas." *Boletín del Instituto Indigenista Nacional*, Guatemala City, segunda época, 3(1957):27-81.

1952 *Chichicastenango: A Guatemalan Village*. Edited by Marian W. Smith. Publications of the American Ethnological Society, no. 22. Locust Valley, N.Y.: J. J. Augustin.

Community study of the Quiché town of Chichicastenango based on field work done in 1930-32. All aspects of economic life, family life, local native government, food preparation and consumption, the life cycle, fiestas and world view are studied in depth. An attempt is made to show ways in which the culture has changed from pre-Columbian times by relating it to what is known of its historic background. Texts of various rituals, for example, training of priest-shamans, prayers, etc., are included in translation. Excellent study of Chichicastenango in the 1930's. One of the most complete studies available, although description largely represents the viewpoint of the ladinoized Indians of the town center.

Also available: Chichicastenango: A Guatemalan Village. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1952.

Burgos Guevara, Hugo

n.d. "Indigenismo y colonialismo interno: Una evaluación entre los tzeltales y tzotziles de Chiapas." MS. Mexico, D.F.: Instituto Indigenista Interamericano.

Comprehensive study resulting from field work in 1964-65. The history of acculturation and integration of the Maya since the time of the conquest is presented, along with a description of Indianist policy and the anthropological criteria used to form it in Mexico. After providing this background the author proceeds with a thorough description and analysis of the work of Mexico's Instituto Nacional Indigenista (INI) among the Tzeltal and Tzotzil populations of Chiapas. Coverage includes the Coordinating Center and its personnel, the

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region and population affected, and the work itself--in communications (roads), agriculture, education, and health. Care is taken to describe and evaluate, considering objectives, methods, results (both projected and unforeseen), and reactions on a number of different levels--institutional, cultural, social--from the point of view of personnel, Indians, and Ladinos in variously acculturated communities (distinguishing between parallel, alternative, and polar integrative levels). Excellent study of the problems of guided culture change with many illustrative examples.

Cámara Barbachano, Fernando

1966 "Persistencia y cambio cultural entre tzeltales de los altos de Chiapas." _Acta Anthropológica_, Mexico, D.F., segunda epoca, 3(1):1-194.

Based on field work done in 1943-44, the work compares the religious and political institutions of the _municipios_ of Tenejapa and Oxchuc, Chiapas, México. Tenejapa, which has great contact with the outside world shows not only a greater degree of acculturation but also a greater degree of social disorder.

Cancian, Frank

1964 "Some Aspects of the Social and Religious Organization of a Maya

Society." In XXXV Congreso Internacional de Americanistas, Mexico, 1962: Actas y memorias, edited by Santiago Genoves T., vol. 1, pp. 335-43. Mexico, D.F.: Editorial Libros de México.

Using modern data from Zinacantán, Chiapas, Mexico, on social and religious organization, Cancian attempts to build a model of ancient Maya social-religious organization. He discusses settlement patterns, the religious hierarchy as cargos, the bureaucratic features of the hierarchy, the ritual specialist, and the hierarchy as a class or prestige system. Theoretical. Better presentation contained in Economics and Prestige in a Maya Community.

1965 Economics and Prestige in a Maya Community: The Religious Cargo System in Zincantán. Stanford: University of Stanford Press.

Study of the cargo system (religious hierarchy) of Zinacantán, Chiapas, Mexico. Here, as in other Mayan villages, participation in this system "reflects an individual's economic rank and determines, in large measure, his social rank" (p. 107). The system through the expenditures it requires also homogenizes the population with respect to wealth. Cancian believes that the cargo system is crucial to

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the maintenance of Zinacantán as an integrated Indian community because it defines the limits of community membership, reinforces the commitment to common values, reduces potential conflict, and supports traditional kinship patterns. Yet the system is breaking down because of population increase--not everyone can participate any longer. This will eventually make it valueless as an integrative mechanism, and Cancian does not believe that any other integrative mechanism based on Indian principles can be evolved. Excellent detailed description and analysis.

1967 "Political and Religious Organizations." In Handbook of Middle American Indians, vol. 6, edited by Manning Nash, pp. 283-98. Austin: University of Texas Press.

Thorough definition and discussion of civil-religious hierarchy, its composition, latent and manifest functions, implications within the community and importance in community integration and social change. Good, concise article. A must for anyone working in Indian communities in Guatemala.

Also available: Political and Religious Organizations. Latin American Studies Program Reprint Series, no. 21. Ithaca, N.Y.: Latin American Studies Program, Cornell University.

Carrasco, Pedro

1961 "The Civil-Religious Hierarchy in Mesoamerican Communities: Pre-Spanish Background and Colonial Development." American Anthropologist 63:483-97.

The pre-Spanish background of the modern civil-religious hierarchy is discussed, and its later development as a consequence of the Spanish Conquest is outlined.

> A fundamental change took place in the function of the ladder system in relation to the total social structure. The ladder [of the civil-religious hierarchy] changed from being a mechanism for the selection of personnel or the validation of inherited claims to high office within a stratified independent society to a mechanism for the sharing of responsibilities among members of an unstratified segment (p. 494).

Also available: The Civil-Religious Hierarchy in Mesoamerican Communities: Pre-Spanish Background and Colonial Development. The Bobbs-Merrill Reprint Series in the Social Sciences, no. A-28. Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Co.

Carrington, Leonora

1964 El mundo mágico de los mayas: Interpretación de Leonora

Carrington. Texts by Andrés Medina and Laurette Sejourne. Mexico, D.F.: Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia.

Fifty-four pages of text explaining the concept of the universe of the Indians of Chiapas, Mexico, and telling something about their lives today is followed by pictures by a non-Indian which supposedly recreate the universe as the Indian sees it. Beautiful book.

Carter, William E.

In press Chichipate: Migration Conflict and Adaptation in Lowland Guatemala. Gainesville: University of Florida Press.

Chinchilla Aguilar, Ernesto

1967 Breviario quiché-español del Popol Vuh para uso en la enseñanza de la lengua quiché. Cuadernos del Seminario de Integración Social Guatemalteca, no. 16. Guatemala City: Ministerio de Educación.

Vocabulary of the Popol Vuh to aid in learning classical Quiché.

Coe, Michael D.

1966 The Maya. London: Thames and Hudson.

Study of the ancient Maya with emphasis on Yucatán, for as Coe says, "it is the lowlands lying to the north which are

of most concern in the story of Maya civilization" (p. 22). The work provides good background material on the pre-Hispanic Maya. Of particular interest are chapters on Maya life and thought.

Colby, Benjamin N.

1964 "Elements of a Mesoamerican Personality Pattern." In *XXXV Congreso Internacional de Americanistas, México, 1962: Actas y memorias*, edited by Santiago Genovés T., vol. 2, pp. 125-29. Mexico, D.F.: Editorial Libros de México.

Discussion of part of the Zinacantán (Chiapas, Mexico) personality pattern which is based on (1) view of human nature as potentially evil and dangerous and (2) view of supernaturals as being inconsistent and undependable. The resulting patterns are a fear of close personal contact and an emphasis on being efficacious, wise, alert and shrewd. The historical background of these patterns is pointed out by evidence taken from the *Popol Vuh* (Quiché) and the *Florentine Codex* (Aztec) of the 16th century. Implications for present-day personal relations, especially in talking with people and looking at them, are of value to the outsider.

Colby, Benjamin N., and van den Berghe, Pierre

1961 "Ethnic Relations in Southeastern

Mexico." American Anthropologist 63:772-92.

Relations between Indians and Ladinos of Chiapas, particularly of San Cristóbal Las Casas, are treated at length, followed by a comparison of these relationships with those of Guatemala as reported in the literature. The most apparent difference between the areas is the greater rigidity of the Ladino-Indian line in Guatemala. Differences can be accounted for by the fact that Indians are a majority in Guatemala while they are a minority in Mexico and by the fact that Guatemala's revolution occurred only recently while Mexico's was 50 years ago.

1969 Ixil Country. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Study of the structure and socio-cultural dynamics of a plural--Ixil and Ladino--society in west central Guatemala. The area consists of the municipios of Nebaj, Cotzal and Chajul in the department of Quiché. Focus is on relations between the two groups. As an ethnography of the Ixil was not previously available, this is included. The ecological and geographical setting and history of the area from the time of the conquest precede discussion of the main aspects of the plural society, focusing analysis on the group, institutional structure, specific forms of behavior, and the process of change in ethnic membership and relations.

Comité de Vecinos

1968 Santa Eulalia: Tierra de nuestros antepasados y esperanza para nuestros hijos. Guatemala City: Instituto Indigenista Nacional.

Community study of Santa Eulalia, Huehuetenango, done by 12 local Kanjobal leaders under the leadership of an American anthropologist. Organized in three sections, paixa (past), tinani (present), and satak'tok (future), it presents information on history and traditional way of life, present way of life, economy, education, health, municipal organization and religion, expected problems in education and the economy and the continuing spirit of unity. Included is a Spanish-Kanjobal vocabulary giving the standard Spanish word and its Kanjobal equivalent as used in Santa Eulalia. Exceptional study.

Comité Interamericano de Desarrollo Agrícola (CIDA)

1965 Tenencia de la tierra y desarrollo socio-económico del sector agrícola: Guatemala. Washington: Union Panamericana, Secretaría General de la Organización de los Estados Americanos.

Based on the hypothesis that Latin American land tenure systems, consisting predominately of latifundias and minifundias, constitute an obstacle to economic and social development and should be changed, this work examines types of land tenure systems, the relation between these systems and economic and social development, and the relation between alternatives to these systems and development for Guatemala. Criteria for evaluation of agrarian reform programs are established.

Correa, Gustavo

1960 "El espíritu del mal en Guatemala." In Nativism and Syncretism, edited by Margaret A. L. Harrison and Robert Wauchope, pp. 37-103. Middle American Research Institute Publication no. 19. New Orleans: Middle American Research Institute, Tulane University.

Examination of the incorporation of the concept of the devil--which was brought to Guatemala from Europe--into native culture and its present existence in folklore and literature.

Currier, Richard L.

1966 "The Hot-Cold Syndrome and Symbolic Balance in Mexican and Spanish-American Folk Medicine." Ethnology 5:251-63.

Examination of the hot-cold

concept in terms of social relations. On the conscious level the syndrome functions as a logical system for dealing with the problems of disorder and disease. On the subconscious level, it is a model of social relations.

> In this case, disease theory constitutes a symbolic system upon which social anxieties are projected, and it functions as a means of symbolically manipulating social relationships which are too difficult or too dangerous to manipulate on a conscious level in the real social universe (p. 252).

Although theoretical, it provides very good information on the syndrome as a medical belief. Also has good bibliography.

Day, Christopher

1967 "The Jalcaltec Language." Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago. Chicago: Department of Photoduplication, University of Chicago Library.

Dessaint, Alain Y.

1962a "Effects of the Hacienda and Plantation System on Guatemala's Indians." América Indígena 22: 323-54.

Review of information available on the effect of seasonal migrations by the Indians of the highlands to work on fincas.

The author concludes that the _fincas_ are responsible for two seemingly contradictory reactions on the part of the Indians: (1) abandonment of certain traditional aspects of their culture and replacement of these with European traits, and (2) use of the economic benefits of _finca_ labor to consolidate themselves against new inroads by an alien culture.

1962b "Papel que juegan la hacienda y la plantación en el cambio socio-cultural: Guatemala y Brasil." _Guatemala Indígena_ 2(2):17-69.

Analysis of the cultural impact of the socio-economic systems of plantations and haciendas utilizing cases from Guatemala and Brazil. In Guatemala social mobility involves geographic mobility. The Indian generally moves to the hacienda, then the city, while the rural Ladino moves to the plantation or city, then to the metropolis. Good analysis based on previously published information.

Douglas, Bill G.

1969 "Illness and Curing in Santiago Atitlán, a Tzutujil-Maya Community in the Southwestern Highlands of Guatemala." Ph.D. dissertation, Stanford University. Ann Arbor, Mich.: University Microfilms.

Comprehensive description of the medical system in Santiago

Atitlán, discussing the village itself, the traditional medical system--both ideational (beliefs about and ideal practices for handling illness) and phenomenal (the behavior of ailing individuals), and changes brought about by two externally organized major health programs introduced since 1964.

Ebel, Roland H.

1964 "Political Change in Guatemalan Indian Communities." Journal of Inter-American Studies 6:91-104.

Description of political modernization in two Mam-speaking *municipios* in Quezaltenango--San Juan Ostuncalco and Concepción Chiquirichapa. Although located less than two miles apart, each is in a different stage of political organization. Each community has evolved its own political life and has its own political problems.

1969 *Political Modernization in Three Guatemalan Indian Communities*. Middle American Research Institute Publication no. 24, pp. 131-206. New Orleans: Middle American Research Institute, Tulane University.

A revision and amplification of the preceding article, dealing with the process of political modernization and how it has been effected in, and

has affected, three communities in northwestern Guatemala. Ebel defines political modernization as a change from an orientation that views political institutions as serving primarily ritualistic, symbolic or solidarity ends to one that sees these institutions directed toward the immediate and tangible ends desired by individuals.

Edmunson, Munro S.

1966 Quiché-English Dictionary, Middle American Research Institute Publication no. 30. New Orleans: Middle American Research Institute, Tulane University.

Ewald, R. H.

1954 "San Antonio Sacatepéquez: Culture Change in a Guatemalan Community." Ph.D. dissertation, University of Michigan. Ann Arbor, Mich.: University Microfilms.

1957 "San Antonio Sacatepéquez: Culture Change in a Guatemalan Community." Social Forces 36:160-65.

Discussion of how changes in national policy have affected this Department of San Marcos community. Change has been substantial because (1) it's not isolated, (2) younger Indians have left the community for protracted periods of time and have been exposed to

different social environments, and (3) the influence of Protestants has been felt.

Flores, Marina, and García, Berta

1960 "The Nutritional Status of Children of Preschool Age in the Guatemalan Community of Amatitlán: I. Comparison of Family and Child Diets." British Journal of Nutrition 14:207-13.

Study of food intake of preschool children in a semi-rural area of Guatemala showed that most diets were inadequate, particularly in vitamin A, riboflavin and protein. The most marked dietary deficiencies occurred between one and two years of age while the diet of the family as a whole was generally better.

Flores, Marina; Flores, Zoila; and Lara, Marta Yolanda

1966 "Food intake of Guatemalan Indian Children, Ages 1-5." Journal of the American Dietetic Association 48:480-87.

Survey to determine if the diet of Guatemalan Indian children was adequate found it inadequate in terms of total calories and protein. The most drastic deficit was riboflavin. Deficiencies could be erased with small quantities of skim milk.

Flores, Marina; García, Berta; Flores, Zoila; and Lara, Marta Yolanda

1964 "Annual Patterns of Family and Children's Diet in Three Guatemalan Indian Communities." British Journal of Nutrition 18:281-93.

Dietary survey of three highland Indian communities over a four-year period to determine food consumption patterns of preschool children and to see if these patterns change over time. It was found that although family diets were adequate in most nutrients, except vitamin A and riboflavin, and, in two towns, vitamin C, mean intakes for children were below recommended allowances for all nutrients except iron. The most severe deficiencies were of vitamin A, riboflavin and calcium. It was found that food consumption patterns did not change over the four-year period.

Foster, George M.

1944 "Nagualism in Mexico and Guatemala." Acta Americana 2:85-103.

Review of the historical confusion of investigators concerning the beliefs and practices associated with naqualismo. Actually naqualismo has two connotations: (1) idea of a companion animal and (2) idea of a transforming witch. Foster suggests that to avoid confusion social scientists

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use the related word tonal for a companion animal and reserve naqual for transforming witch, although they are not necessarily so separated by people who believe in them.

1953 "Relationships between Spanish and Spanish-American Folk Medicine." Journal of American Folklore 66: 201-19.

Description of Spanish medical beliefs at the time of the conquest--both formal and folk--followed by a fairly extensive discussion of their manifestations in present-day Spanish-American folk medicine. The author tentatively concludes that folk medicine has survived to a greater extent in America than in Spain.

1958 Problems in Intercultural Health Programs: Memorandum to the Committee on Preventive Medicine and Social Science Research. Social Science Research Council Pamphlet no. 12. New York: Social Science Research Council.

Theoretical treatment of human and social problems involved in intercultural health programs. The author explores principal cultural problems involved, types of knowledge needed to solve these problems and how this knowledge can be utilized in programming and operations. Although it does not deal explicitly with

Guatemala, it is a basic study of value to anyone working in cross-cultural health programs.

Fox, David G.

1965 *Lecciones elementales en Quiché*. Guatemala City: Departamento Editorial José de Pineda Ibarra.

García Granados, Jorge

1960 "The Guatemalan Indian." In *The Caribbean: The Central American Area*, edited by A. Curtis Wilgus, pp. 48-68. Gainesville: University of Florida Press.

Historical treatment of Guatemalan Indians, in particular, Spanish policy towards them, to show why such a large number have clung to their own way of life and have not become integrated into the national culture. Historical treatment seems excellent although comments at the end on the present incorporation of the Indians appears naive.

Gillin, John

1945 "Parallel Cultures and Inhibitions to Acculturation in a Guatemalan Community." *Social Forces* 24:1-14.

Discussion of San Luis Jilotepeque as an example of a community with parallel cultures--Indian and Ladino. Each group has its own culture and although they have existed side by side for several hundred years, there is very little (as of 1945) intermixing or acculturation by the lower status Indian. Theories about why the customs of the two groups have not merged are presented in terms of dynamic psycho-social principles. Factors which have inhibited Indian acculturation include (1) inadequate stimulus value of Ladino patterns, (2) persistence of cultural drives among the Indians which Ladino customs would not reward, (3) direct punishment by Ladinos of Indians who try to emulate them, (4) anxiety on the part of the Indians toward Ladinos and their patterns, and (5) arrangement of socio-cultural conditions which render the performance of specific Ladino customs impossible by Indians. Good article but very theory-oriented.

1947 " 'Race' Relations without Conflict. A Guatemalan Town." American Journal of Sociology 53:337-43.

Description of the differences between the Indian and Ladino castes of San Luis Jilotepeque and the relations between them. The author analyzes reasons for the lack of smoldering resentment despite the fact that the situation is obviously unfair to Indians. Since Indians have developed and maintained a fairly satisfying culture of their own, the Ladino pressure is not felt to be too onerous.

1948 "Magical Fright." Psychiatry 11:387-400.

Analysis of the curing technique used for susto in terms of modern psychiatric theory for the treatment of collapse of the ego organization. The ritual provides the patient emotional catharsis and reassurance, directs his attention outside himself, provides a pattern for re-establishing social contacts, etc. Excellent article.

In Spanish: "El espanto mágico." In Cultura indígena de Guatemala: Ensayos de antropología social. 2d rev. ed., edited by Jorge Luis Arriola, pp. 163-97. Seminario de Integración Social Guatemalteca, Publicación no. 1. Guatemala City: Tipografía Nacional, 1959.

1951 The Culture of Security in San Carlos: A Study of a Guatemalan Community of Indians and Ladinos. Middle American Research Institute Publication no. 16. New Orleans: Middle American Research Institute, Tulane University.

Community study of San Luis Jilotepeque, Jalapa, a Pokoman-speaking community in the east of Guatemala, with particular emphasis on the way in which a culture provides security for its members or makes them feel insecure. Gillin's objective was to find the ways in which the Ladinos and Indians react to and deal with the threatening problems generated by their culture. Presentation mostly topical. Good community study.

In Spanish: San Luis Jilotepeque: La seguridad del individuo y de la sociedad en la cultura de una comunidad guatemalteca de indígenas y ladinos. Edited by Jorge Luis Arriola. Seminario de Integración Social Guatemalteca, Publicación no. 7. Guatemala City: Editorial del Ministerio de Educación Pública, 1958.

Partially reprinted in: "The Balance of Threat and Security in Mesoamerica: San Carlos." In Personalities and Cultures, edited by Robert Hunt, pp. 139-49. Garden City, N.Y.: Natural History Press, 1967.

Girard, Rafael

1949 Los chortis ante el problema maya: Historia de las culturas indígenas de América, desde su origen hasta hoy. Mexico, D.F.: La Editorial Cultura.

Five volume work on the Chorti Indians, dealing with history, cosmology, religious practioners, gods, symbolism, values, rituals, calendar, etc. Much of the work consists of speculative attempts to interpret the symbolism of various Maya

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cultures, but the first two volumes contain descriptive material on native religious and social patterns.

Goubaud Carrera, Antonio

1946 "Organización de municipalidades indígenas." *Boletín del Instituto Indigenista Nacional*, Guatemala City, 2(1):9-26.

Diagram of the hierarchy of municipal offices in three *municipios*--San José Chacaya, San Pedro La Laguna and Nahualá--showing how the actual organization does not correspond to legal organization. This is a result of the preexisting organization not being taken into account when the legal organization was imposed upon it.

Gould, Peter R., and Sparks, Jack P.

1969 "The Geographical Context of Human Diets in Southern Guatemala." *Geographical Review* 59:58-82.

Study of the spatial aspects of the nutrition problems of Guatemala.

Grajeda Herrera, Aura Violeta

1966 *Convivencia entre indígenas y ladinos de Quezaltenango*. Quezaltenango, Guatemala: Escuela de Servicio Social Rural, Universidad de San Carlos.

Grimes, James Larry

1968 *Cakchiquel-Tzutujil: Estudio sobre su unidad linguística*. Estudios Centroamericanos, no. 4. Guatemala City: Seminario de Integración Social Guatemalteca.

Examination of the close linguistic relation between Cakchiquel and Tzutujil, branches of the Quiché language family found in western Guatemala.

Grollig, Francis Xavier, S.J.

1959 "San Miguel Acatán, Huehuetenango, Guatemala: A Modern Mayan Village." Ph.D. dissertation, Indiana University. Ann Arbor, Mich.: University Microfilms.

Community study of San Miguel Acatán, a Kanjobal-speaking community in Huehuetenango. The author describes the community, political and religious structure, houses and furnishings, language, social organization, agriculture and other occupations, life cycle, health and supernatural beliefs. Although treatment of topics is somewhat superficial, the study provides information on recent socio-cultural change in the area.

Guiteras-Holmes, Calixta

1961 *Perils of the Soul: The World View of a Tzotzil Indian.* New York: Free Press.

A 1953 study of the world view of a Tzotzil Indian from San Pedro Chenalhó, Chiapas, Mexico, including information about all aspects of life, for the supernatural permeates everything. Verbatim interviews in which the Tzotzil explains his view of the world are presented along with analysis.

Herbert, Jean-Loup

1967 "Apuntes sobre la estructura nacional de Guatemala y el movimiento de ladinización." Revista Mexicana de Sociología 29:761-73.

Socio-cultural investigation of Indians and Ladinos in Guatemala as fundamental parts of the national structure. Social relations between the two groups and the mechanisms of the process of ladinization are examined.

Hermitte, M. Esther

1964 "Supernatural Power and Social Control in a Modern Mayan Village." Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago. Chicago: Department of Photoduplication, University of Chicago Library.

Analysis of supernatural sanctions as a system of social control in Pinola in the municipio of Villa Las Rosas, Chiapas, Mexico. The positive sanction for action is good health, while illness is the negative sanction for transgressions of Indian norms. The author discusses supernatural beliefs--origin myths, magic, concept of soul--disease, curing, dreams, witches and curers as components in the social control system. Good study. Very little information about the objective world is included.

Higbee, Edward C.

1947 "The Agricultural Regions of Guatemala." Geographical Review 37:177-201.

Geographical survey of Guatemala with emphasis on how various conditions affect agriculture.

In Spanish: "Las regiones agrícolas de Guatemala." In Economía de Guatemala, edited by Jorge Luis Arriola, pp. 185-212. Seminario de Integración Social Guatemalteca, Publicación no. 6. Guatemala City: Editorial del Ministerio de Educación Pública, 1958.

Hildebrand, John R.

1962 "Farm Size and Agrarian Reform in Guatemala." Inter-American Economic Affairs 16(2):51-57.

Discussion of the Castillo Armas agrarian reform program as it operates in Guatemala today and,

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in particular, the problem of determining optimum farm size. A farm of approximately 50 acres (although it can vary widely) is, the author feels, economically viable and provides opportunity for capital formation.

> It is a reasonable compromise position in the sense of providing more land than a machete farmer with machete-calibre motivation and managerial abilities can handle, but hardly enough for tractor power and related levels of development that could be expected only in the more distant future (p. 55).

He is extremely critical of farms which provide subsistence only and of communal farms, although he realizes that they are the most economical ways for the government to temporarily pacify the landless peasants.

1963 "Guatemalan Rural Development Program: An Economist's Recommendations." Inter-American Economic Affairs 17(1):59-71.

Constructive criticism of the Guatemalan Rural Development Program which at present, with U.S. aid, provides for rather complete rural development. Based on the premise that funds for development will continue to be scarce, Hildebrand recommends (1) entirely closing down rural housing and mechanized land clearing programs--the *campesino* can build his own house and clear his own land--and (2) substantially reducing the program for community centers, utilities and road construction on any project--needs can be met by more primitive and less expensive means--in order to reallocate released resources to more education and supervised credit, and to expansion of the program to new areas.

Hinshaw, Robert E.

1966 "Structure and Stability of Belief in Panajachel." Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago. Chicago: Department of Photoduplication, University of Chicago Library.

Examination of the changes in social relations in Panajachel since it was studied by Sol Tax in 1941 and the effect of these changes upon the stability of the Indian world view. The structure of belief and the stability of the "traditional" world view are discussed, followed by an attempt to correlate the variables of the changing socio-economic environment with the differential acceptance of beliefs. Presentation includes description of social interactions between Indians and Ladinos which expose differences in "mental apprehension of reality" and explanation of the

nature of the process of ladinization in Panajachel which has allowed rapid acculturation in a number of respects but has not resulted in extensive erosion of beliefs.

Hirshberg, R. I.

1958 "The Process of Ladinization in the Guatemalan Highlands." Ph.D. dissertation, Syracuse University. Ann Arbor, Mich.: University Microfilms.

Study of the process of passage from Indian status to Ladino status based on field work in San Andrés Semetabaj and a transitional neighborhood in Guatemala City as well as on a review of the literature on the Guatemalan Indian. Three factors in the process are evident: (1) disruption of former social relations with Indians, (2) engagement in non-Indian occupations, and (3) relocation. The rate of ladinization is slow--the author estimates about 2% per generation. An important contribution to knowledge about the Guatemalan Indian.

Holland, William R.

1962 "Highland Maya Folk Medicine: A Study of Cultural Change." Ph.D. dissertation, University of Arizona. Ann Arbor, Mich.: University Microfilms.

Study of the Tzotzil community of Larraínzar, Chiapas, Mexico, with special emphasis on the concept of illness and curing practices. After considerable ethnographic information and a discussion of traditional views of illness and curing, a brief analysis of Indian reactions to an Instituto Nacional Indigenista medical program is presented, providing useful examples of problems and solutions in bringing modern medical care to traditional, isolated people.

In Spanish: *Medicina maya en los altos de Chiapas: Un estudio del cambio socio-cultural*. Colección de Antropología Social. Mexico, D.F.: Instituto Nacional Indigenista, 1963.

Holland, William R., and Thorp, Roland G.

1964 "Highland Maya Psychotherapy." *American Anthropologist* 66:41-52.

Analysis of a curing ceremony in Larraínzar, Chiapas, Mexico, concluding that curing of "diseases of the spirit," though based on a supernatural world view, are psychotherapeutical.

Horst, Oscar H.

1966 "The Hut and the Milpa: A Meaningful Symbiosis in the Agricultural Economy of Western Guatemala." Paper presented at the Annual

Meeting of the Association of American Geographers, Toronto.

Guatemala's Servicio de Fomento de la Economía Indígena (SFEI) is trying to persuade the Indians to grow wheat instead of corn. Excellent discussion of cultural factors which must be considered in contemplating such a far-reaching change, as well as the consequences. The physical and emotional significance of the milpa cannot be ignored.

In Spanish: "El rancho y la milpa: Una simbiosis significativa en la economía agrícola del occidente de Guatemala." Cuadernos de Antropología, Guatemala City, no. 7(1966):13-18.

1967 "Specter of Death in a Guatemalan Highland Community." Geographical Review 57:151-67.

Mainly demographic article using San Juan Ostuncalco, Quezaltenango, as an example. In spite of high infant mortality and the fact that its growth rate is less than the national average, the population of Ostuncalco is growing too fast and pressure on the land is too great.

In Spanish: "El espectro de la vida y de la muerte en una comunidad de los altiplanos de Guatemala." Cuadernos de Antropología, Guatemala City, no. 7 (1966):19-36.

Horst, Oscar H., and Ebel, Roland H.

1964 "Land and Politics in Rural Guatemala: A Study of a Highland Agricultural Community." In The Community in Revolutionary Latin America, pp. 11-23. University of Kansas Occasional Publication no. 3. Lawrence, Kan.: University of Kansas.

Analysis of San Juan Ostuncalco to determine how best to encourage the development of what the authors call "primitive democratic attitudes" and how to discourage the potential for a revolutionary situation. Since they feel that the campesino is more interested in owning land and making a living from it than he is in radical agrarian reform (in fact, the Indians have been opposed to agrarian reform), they propose (1) improvement in agricultural techniques and extension of credit, (2) encouragement of community development, and (3) an educational program geared to the needs of an illiterate adult.

In Spanish: "Tierra y política en la Guatemala rural: Estudio de una comunidad agrícola del altiplano." Cuadernos de Antropología, Guatemala City, no. 6 (1965):25-39.

Horst, Oscar H., and McLelland, Avril

1968 "The Development of an Educational

System in a Rural Guatemalan Community." *Journal of Inter-American Studies* 10:474-97.

Examination of the manner in which the Guatemalan educational system functions at the primary level, using San Juan Ostuncalco as an example. The authors discuss various factors in the system--schools, classrooms, teachers, and the matrix of school and human affairs--and conclude that the system is everywhere deficient. Suggestions for improvements are made.

Hoyt, Elizabeth E.

1955 "Indian Laborers on Guatemalan Coffee Fincas." *Inter-American Economic Affairs* 9(1):33-46.

A 1946-47 survey of conditions on fifty Guatemalan coffee *fincas*. The author did not feel that, at that time, work on the *fincas* was a step toward acculturation.

In Spanish: "El trabajador indígena en las fincas de café de Guatemala." In *Economía de Guatemala*, edited by Jorge Luis Arriola, pp. 293-313. Seminario de Integración Social Guatemalteca, Publicación no. 6. Guatemala City: Editorial del Ministerio de Educación Pública, 1958.

Instituto Indigenista Nacional

1968 "Influencia del Mundo Mágico en la

supervivencia y desarrollo del infante indígena en Sololá.", Guatemala Indígena, segunda época, 4(1):97-103.

Examination of the influence of beliefs in the supernatural on the life of the Indian infant in Sololá. The supernatural, the gods, ancestor spirits, and the Catholic church, play a role in the manner of the child's birth, treatment of his illnesses and what his mother is allowed to eat before he is born. Exposition lacks depth.

1969 "Prácticas médicas tradicionales de los indígenas de Guatemala." Paper presented at IV Congreso Pan-Americano de Historia de la Medicina, May 26-31, at Guatemala City. Mimeographed.

Results of an Instituto Indigenista Nacional survey of curanderos in the Indian zones of Guatemala. All aspects of traditional Indian medicine are covered, and a chart listing illnesses, where they were identified, and the medicine and treatment involved in the cure is included.

Jones, Chester L.

1940 Guatemala, Past and Present. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

History of Guatemala dealing

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with political development, economic development and social life from the time of the conquest until today to analyze the factors which determine Guatemala's present position and prospects. Valuable study which was reprinted in 1966 by Russell and Russell of New York.

Kearney, Michael

1969 "Los conceptos de aire y susto: Representaciones simbólicas del ambiente social y geográfico percibido." América Indígena 29:431-50.

Explanation of the persistence of the use and significance of aire and susto, analyzing their functions in terms of world view. The ethnographic data is from Ixtepeji, Oaxaca.

King, Arden R.

1952 "Changing Cultural Goals and Patterns in Guatemala." American Anthropologist 54:139-43.

In Cobán, Alta Verapaz, the cultural goals of the Indians are changing due to (1) German men who married Indian women, (2) radio and transportation, (3) Hollywood movies, and (4) the national government's attempt to incorporate the Indians. However, the ease of social mobility has not kept pace with the Indian's rate of change in goals. With

increasing competition between the Indians and Ladinos, there is a strong, conscious undercurrent of antagonism toward the Ladinos.

LaFarge, Oliver

1947 *Santa Eulalia: The Religion of a Cuchumatan Indian Town*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Based on 1932 field work, this study of a Kanjobal town emphasizes religion and ritual although it contains excellent data on material culture, social organization, mythology and other aspects of culture.

LaFarge, Oliver, and Byers, Douglas

1931 *The Year Bearer's People*. Middle American Research Institute Publication no. 3. New Orleans: Middle American Research Institute, Tulane University.

Based on 1927 field work in Jacaltenango, this is one of the first intensive studies of a Guatemalan Indian community. It is concerned mainly with the surviving Maya calendar system and associated beliefs and ceremonies.

León, Juan de

1954 *Diccionario quiché-español*. Guatemala City: Editorial Landívar.

Lincoln, Jackson Steward

n.d. Ethnological Study of Ixil Indians of the Guatemalan Highlands. Microfilm Collection of Manuscripts on American Indian Cultural Anthropology, 1st series, no. 1. Chicago: University of Chicago Library.

Notes on 1940-41 field work in Nebaj, Chajul and Cotzal, containing information on history, religion, land occupation, economic status and family life.

McArthur, Harry S.

1961 "La estructura político-religiosa de Aguacatán." Guatemala Indígena 1(2):41-56.

Description of the politico-religious hierarchy in Aguacatán, Huehuetenango. The author discusses the two distinct politico-religious structures of the two groups of Aguacatec speakers--that of the Aguacatec dialect and that of the Chalchitec dialect--, the formal legal structure of the municipio, and the influence of Maryknoll and Protestant missionaries on the traditional structure.

McBride, George M.

1942 "Highland Guatemala and Its Maya Communities." Geographical Review 32:252-65.

Survey article of Indians of

Guatemala treating the distribution of Indian communities, patterns of settlement, and the communities themselves as agrarian, social, religious and political units. Good summary article although dated.

McBryde, Felix Webster

1934 "Sololá: A Guatemalan Town and Cakchiquel Market-Center." In Studies in Middle America. Middle American Research Series Publication no. 5. New Orleans: Middle American Research Institute, Tulane University.

The chief purpose of McBryde's study was an analysis of the Sololá market, an important center of trade. He gives a physical description of Sololá, history, and life in 1932 before turning to the market. He found a wide variety of items sold, particularly during the semi-annual fairs when products from as far away as Mexico were brought to Sololá. Most products were sold by their producers; there was no barter. Good study though quite old now.

1947 Cultural and Historical Geography of Southwest Guatemala. Smithsonian Institution, Institute of Social Anthropology, Publication no. 4. Washington: Government Printing Office.

Study of cultural geography of southwest Guatemala covering geography, demography, agriculture, animals, houses, costume, crafts and industries, commerce and markets, settlement patterns, etc. Very complete. Although an old study, it is still valuable.

In Spanish: Geografía cultural e historica del suroeste de Guatemala. Seminario de Integracion Social Guatemalteca, Publicaciones nos. 24-25. Guatemala City: Ministerio de Educación, 1969.

McQuown, Norman A., ed.

1965 Spoken Quiché: Book 1. Chicago: Department of Anthropology, University of Chicago.

1967 Spoken Quiché: Book 2. Chicago: Department of Anthropology, University of Chicago.

Mayers, Marvin K., ed.

1958 Pocomchí Texts with Grammatical Notes. Norman, Okla.: Summer Institute of Linguistics, University of Oklahoma.

Ethnographic texts collected by the author in three Pocomchí villages between 1953 and 1957. Topics included in the texts are origins, religion and the supernatural, natural phenomena, work, business and government, birth, sleeping, death, making tamales, etc. Texts in Pocomchí with English translations and grammatical notes on the Pocomchí language.

1966 *Languages of Guatemala.* The Hague: Mouton.

Modern manual of Indian languages spoken in Guatemala, although all dialects are not covered. Contains a brief ethnographic sketch of each group or community.

In Spanish: *Lenguas de Guatemala*. Seminario de Integración Social Guatemalteca, Publicación no. 20. Guatemala City: Departamento Editorial "José de Pineda Ibarra," 1966.

Melgar Rodríguez, Augusto

1963 *El movimiento cooperativo de Guatemala*. Guatemala City: Facultad de Ciencias Económicas, Universidad de San Carlos.

Mendelson, E. Michael

1956a *Religion and World View in Santiago Atitlán*. Microfilm Collection of Manuscripts on American Indian Cultural Anthropology, 8th series, nos. 52-53. Chicago: University of Chicago Library.

First draft of doctoral thesis by the same title. This version is very extensive, containing data on all aspects of the ethnology of this Tzutujil town, not just on religion and world view.

1956b "Religion and World View in Santiago Atitlán." Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago. Chicago: Department of Photoduplication, University of Chicago Library.

Abbreviated version of preceding work, consisting of a brief description of the cultural and social background of Santiago Atitlán, Sololá, followed by a presentation of the world view of the Atitecos as seen through their religious partisanship, with particular emphasis on the complex ritual figure of Maximón. Conscientious and honest attempt at interpretation.

In Spanish: *Los escándalos de Maximón: Un estudio sobre la religión y la visión del mundo en Santiago Atitlán.* Seminario de Integración Social Guatemalteca, Publicación no. 19. Guatemala City: Tipografía Nacional, 1965.

1958a "A Guatemalan Sacred Bundle." *Man* 58:121-26.

Detailed description of the *cofradía* of San Juan, its activities, and the sacred bundle of San Martín, a cult figure which the author analyzes as a contemporary version of an ancient Mayan deity which has found a place in the heart of the *cofradía* system. Interesting example of the result of fusion of two religions.

In Spanish: "Un envoltorio

sagrado guatemalteco." In *Los escándalos de Maximón: Un estudio sobre la religión y la visión del mundo en Santiago Atitlán*, pp. 167-86. Seminario de Integración Social Guatemalteca, Publicación no. 19. Guatemala City: Tipografía Nacional, 1965.

1958b "The King, the Traitor and the Cross." *Diogenes*, no. 21:1-10.

As an illustration of the adaptations which occur with the intimate contact of two different systems of belief, the author analyzes the ritual figures of the three principal *dueños* in Santiago Atitlán--San Martín, the King; Maximón, the Traitor; and Christ, the Cross--as they respectively represent the pre-Columbian system of beliefs, a mixture of pre- and post-conquest and the Catholic religion introduced after the conquest. Special emphasis is on Maximón, the most complex and controversial figure. Understanding this element could greatly enhance one's comprehension of an Indian's outlook on life and view of change.

In Spanish: "El rey, el traidor y la cruz." *Boletín del Instituto Indigenista Nacional*, Guatemala City, segunda época, 2(1960): 47-57.

Also in *Los escándalos de Maximón: Un estudio sobre la religión y la* *visión del mundo en Santiago Atitlán*, pp. 153-66. Seminario de Integración Social Guatemalteca, Publicación no. 19. Guatemala City: Tipografía Nacional, 1965.

1959a *Los mayas del altiplano*. Cuadernos del Seminario de Integración Social Guatemalteca, no. 6. Guatemala City: Editorial del Ministerio de Educación Pública.

This brief discussion of the political and religious history of highland Guatemala from pre-conquest times to the present provides a general introduction for the layman who wishes to improve his understanding of differences in the civil and religious organization of highland communities.

1959b "Maximón: An Iconographical Introduction." *Man* 59:57-60.

Description of the ritual figure Maximón of Santiago Atitlán and the rituals with which respect is paid to him. An attempt is made to unravel the strands of Maya and Christian belief associated with him. Specialized topic written for general reading public.

In Spanish: "Maximón: Una introducción iconográfica." In *Los escándalos de Maximón: Un estudio sobre la religión y la visión del mundo en Santiago Atitlán*, pp. 187-201. Seminario de Integración Social Guatemalteca, Publicación no. 19. Guatemala City: Tipografía Nacional, 1965.

1967 "Ritual and Mythology." In *Handbook of Middle American Indians*, vol. 6, edited by Manning Nash, pp. 392-415. Austin: University of Texas Press.

Synthesis of information on ritual and mythology for all of Middle America. Specific information on various Guatemalan practices is placed in a broader framework. Excellent article.

Méndez Cifuentes, Arturo

1967 *Nociones de tejidos indígenas de Guatemala*. Guatemala City: Editorial José de Pineda Ibarra.

History, techniques and designs of the textile industry of San Pedro Sacatepéquez, San Marcos, including instructions on looms and weaving techniques and a collection of indigenous designs.

Méndez Domínguez, Alfredo

1961 "Social Stratification of a Ladino Community, Guatemala." Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago. Chicago: Department of Photoduplication, University of Chicago Library.

Study of social stratification of Zaragoza, Chimaltenango.

Using Redfield's idea of folk-urban continuum, the author compares stratification in Zaragoza with an *aldea* and with the city of Chimaltenango to obtain hints about how stratification has developed and how it is transformed with urbanization. He found seven social strata well developed in Zaragoza: (1) *principales*, (2) *caciques*, (3) rich people, (4) intelligent workers, (5) ordinary day laborers, (6) Indians and (7) very poor people--beggars. The social stratification system was found to be better developed and more important to the functioning of the society in Zaragoza than in either the *aldea* or Chimaltenango.

In Spanish: *Zaragoza: La estratificación social de una comunidad ladina guatemalteca.* Seminario de Integración Social Guatemalteca, Publicación no. 21. Guatemala City: Tipografía Nacional, 1967.

1962 "Organización social y prevalencia de la malnutrición proteica en una comunidad de Guatemala." *Guatemala Indígena* 2(2):5-16.

In the Ladino town of Zaragoza, Chimaltenango, 46% of deaths of children between 1 and 5 years of age occur in July, August and September. Accepting Béhar, Ascoli and Scrimshaw's evidence (q.v.) that poor nutrition plays an important role in childhood deaths, the author asserts that something more than ignorance of nutrition on the part of the mother is involved. In Zaragoza the time of high death rate is also a time of food scarcity. The author relates this food scarcity to the organization of life around the production of corn, which is the basis of power and prestige in the community. For example, milk is not available during this time because the cows are taken away from the village to protect the corn crops from their foraging, and eggs and corn, being scarce during this period, are expensive.

Metzger, Duane, and Williams, Gerald

1963 "Tenejapa Medicine I: The Curer." Southwestern Journal of Anthropology 19(2):216-34.

Examination of the role of curer among the Tzeltals of Chiapas, Mexico, with emphasis on characteristics and performances which not only define the role but also, in their internal variation, are the basis for evaluation of curers and for selection of one curer rather than another. Some of these, such as the practices of "pulsing" the patient and refraining from directly asking the family or patient about the ailment (since a good curer gets his information from

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pulsing and need not ask) are of considerable importance for modern doctors attempting to introduce scientific medicine.

Monteforte Toledo, Mario

1959 Guatemala: Monografía sociológica. Mexico, D.F.: Instituto de Investigaciones Sociales, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México.

Extensive sociological monograph providing information on all aspects of Guatemalan life--geography, demography, relations among ethnic groups, the process of acculturation, social structure, socio-economic factors, etc. Excellent introduction to Guatemala.

Mosk, Sanford

1954 "Indigenous Economy in Latin America." Inter-American Economic Affairs 8(3):3-25.

Analysis of the material available on the Indian economy of Guatemala as an example of the kind of preliminary studies that might be done on other Latin American Indian economies. The author discusses the lack of self-sufficiency of the Indian, the customs in the economy transactions, the Indian's response to gainful incentives and the connections between the indigenous commercialized regional economy and the national economy. He concludes that

> the indigenous economy of Highland Guatemala possesses the following main characteristics: Production is directed towards the market, rather than towards individual and family consumption; productive effort is specialized, by communities as well as by individuals; a vigorous and complex trade is carried on throughout the region; transactions are based on market forces, rather than custom and tradition; there is an active response to gainful incentives; the regional economy is significantly tied to the national economy of Guatemala, and to international economic conditions as well (p. 24).

Also available in: Contemporary Cultures and Societies of Latin America, edited by Dwight B. Heath and Richard N. Adams, pp. 154-72. New York: Random House, 1965.

In Spanish: "Economía indígena en la América Latina." In Cultura indígena de Guatemala: Ensayos de antropología social, 2d rev. ed., edited by Jorge Luis Arriola, pp. 67-99. Seminario de Integración Social Guatemalteca, Publicación no. 1. Guatemala City: Tipografía Nacional, 1959.

Narciso, Vicente A.

1957 "Los indios pokonchíes" *Boletín del Instituto Indigenista Nacional*, Guatemala City, segunda época, 3:83-111.

Part of a 1906 study of the ethnology of the Pokonchí Indians of Guatemala, giving information on the family, social categories, illnesses, funerals, religion and the calendar.

Nash, June

1967 "The Logic of Behavior: Curing in a Maya Indian Town." *Human Organization* 26(3):132-40.

Working from the premise that an understanding of the native medical logic is needed for modern curing methods to be more effectively introduced, the author examines the logic of native curing methods in Amatenango del Valle (Tzo' ontahal), Chiapas, Mexico. She examines the native medical rituals in detail, explaining the logic behind all aspects of them, and finds that the dissociation of the treatment of the disease from the treatment of the evil causing it seems to permit the maximum latitude for the introduction of medical changes without disturbing the existing professional role (p. 138).

Good article with practical implications.

1968 "Agasajo a los espíritus en una comunidad de indígenas mayances." America Indígena 28:871-89.

Description of the manner in which people of Amatenango del Valle, Chiapas, Mexico, deal with the spirits believed to live in their environment. They try to placate them by making offerings to them. In this way, fear of the unknown is reduced and a rationale for dealing with known dangers is provided.

1970 In the Eyes of the Ancestors: Belief and Behavior in a Maya Community. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Community study of Amatenango del Valle (Tzo'ontahal), Chiapas, Mexico, treating particularly the problem of the relation between belief and behavior in a changing world. The author discusses in depth, traditional and new economic activities, family life, life cycle, curing, government, and world view and religion. She concludes that although people feel that one ought to act as the ancestors did and pretend that they are doing so, in fact they are changing radically. Thus she anticipates a crisis when this fiction can no longer be maintained.

Nash, Manning

1955 "The Reaction of a Civil-Religious Hierarchy to a Factory in Guatemala." Human Organization 13(4):26-28.

Discussion of how a factory in Cantel, Quezaltenango, adjusted to the civil-religious hierarchy for over half a century and how the political revolution of 1944, focused in Cantel through the factory union, undermined the hierarchy. The union formed a political party and elected their own--young--men to the civil offices, effectively separating the civil and religious hierarchies. Nash concludes:

> The case of Cantel suggests that a factory is not inherently incompatible with a native social structure, while a political government supported by extra-local sanctions may cause severe social maladjustment (p. 28).

1956 "Cantel: The Industrialization of a Guatemalan Indian Community." Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago. Chicago: Photoduplication, University of Chicago Library.

1958a Machine Age Maya: The Industrialization of a Guatemalan Community. American Anthropological Association Memoir no. 87. Menasha, Wis.: American Anthropological Association.

Community study of Cantel, Quezaltenango, with particular emphasis on the impact of a textile mill built there in the 19th century. Nash compares the similarities of the factory and farm sectors of the community in terms of basic patterns of social and cultural life, family organization, religious life and world view. He concludes that factory workers are not separated in life style, social behavior or personality from nonfactory workers, although some differences do exist. He also analyzes the accommodations which the community has made to the factory and those that the factory has made to the community as well as the actual institutional changes which have taken place. He concludes that although Cantel is not the same society as it was before the introduction of the factory, it has exhibited little cultural loss or social disorganization.

1958b "Political Relations in Guatemala." Social and Economic Studies 7: 65-75.

Discussion of the changes which have occurred in the political structure of Indian communities as a result of the revolution of 1944, using Cantel as a case in point. Nash describes the traditional civil-religious hierarchy, its function as a leveling mechanism, and its role in mediating between the local society and the national milieu. He discusses the strains and conflicts which are present in Cantel as a result of the change of the civil hierarchy brought on by the revolution. In his opinion the Ladino society must accept the civil-religious organization as the social basis of a culturally distinct way of life if a working modern nation is to be a possibility.

1959 "Introducing Industries into Peasant Societies." Science 130:1456-62.

The author disputes that the spread of industrial technology necessarily destroys native cultures, using Cantel, Guatemala, as a case in point. He compares factory workers with farmers and Cantel with other municipios to show that a textile factory built in Cantel in the last century has not caused social disruption as some social scientists have come to think is inevitable. No analysis of factors which are important in the lack of disruption. Semi-popular article. More complete description available in Machine Age Maya.

1964a "Capital, Saving and Credit in a Guatemalan and a Mexican Indian Peasant Society." In Capital, Saving and Credit in Peasant

*Societies: Studies from Asia, Oceania, the Caribbean and Middle America*, edited by Raymond Firth and B. S. Yamey, pp. 287-304. London: George Allen and Unwin.

The concepts, uses and levels of capital; meaning, extent and institutions of credit; and amount, form and channeling of savings are compared for the Guatemalan Indian community of Cantel, Quezaltenango, and the Mexican Indian community of Amatenango, Chiapas. The author suggests the social and cultural sources and constraints of the patterns of credit, capital and saving found among these two populations and draws some general conclusions on the relation of economy to society, (with special attention to Indian societies and their potential for economic innovation as a part of national economic development). Valuable article for its presentation and analysis of differing interpretations of these aspects of economics illustrated by specific examples.

1964b "The Indian Economics of Middle America." In *XXXV Congreso Internacional de Americanistas, México, 1962: Actas y memorias*, edited by Santiago Genoves T., vol. 3, pp. 299-311. México, D.F.: Editorial Libros de México.

Examination of the various types of economic organization of the Indians of Middle America. These range from virtual isolation--little trade and almost no money--to complete market interdependence of specialized communities producing for cash returns in an impersonal and competitive economic organization.

1967 "Cambio sin diseño en las comunidades alteñas de Centro América." *América Indígena* 27:101-8.

Discussion of unplanned cultural change in Central America since the Spanish Conquest, which constitutes the basis for analysis of unplanned change taking place in Guatemala today. The author uses Cantel as an example of unplanned contemporary change.

1969 "Guatemalan Highlands." In *Handbook of Middle American Indians*, vol. 7, edited by Evon Z. Vogt, pp. 30-45. Austin: University of Texas Press.

General orientation to the highlands and to the Indian groups found there, covering topography, general characteristics of the Indians (uniformities and divergencies) and the chief changes wrought by the conquest. Good overview.

Naylor, R. A.

1967 "Guatemala: Indian Attitudes

Toward Land Tenure." Journal of Inter-American Studies 9:619-39.

Historical approach to the concept of communally owned land among the Indians of Guatemala with emphasis on the effect of this concept on current Indian attitudes toward land. The Indian today continues to focus on utilization of land rather than possession and land tenure patterns continue to be "closely interwoven with the family structure, social tendencies, religious beliefs, political organization, degree of cultural advancement and stage of economic development" (p. 633). "The Indian continues to identify with the land with an emotional intensity that suggests that its significance goes beyond the bounds of property in the Western sense" (p. 634). Very good article containing important information for the outsider and potential agent of change.

Noval, Joaquín

1952 "Algunas modalidades del trabajo indígena de Guatemala." Antropología e Historia de Guatemala 4(1):47-51.

Discussion of the types of work engaged in by Guatemalan Indians, dividing work into six categories: (1) salaried agricultural work, (2) non-agricultural work for salary,

(3) domestic service, (4) farming land for himself, (5) home industry, and (6) small commerce. Noval points out that most people engage in more than one of these activities.

1964 "Materiales etnográficos de San Miguel." *Cuadernos de Antropología*, Guatemala City, no. 3:1-99.

Community study of San Miguel Milpas Altas, Sacatepéquez, carried out in 1960, covering economic activities and social institutions. Good descriptive study. No synthesis or interpretation.

1965 "Situación económica actual de los indígenas de Guatemala." *Cuadernos de Antropología*, Guatemala City, no. 6:7-23.

Discussion of the present-day economic situation of the Indians which, according to the author, is very poor due to three independent factors: (1) lack of land, (2) low pay for agricultural work, and (3) lack of employment opportunities in other types of work.

Oakes, Maud

1951a *Beyond the Windy Place: Life in the Guatemalan Highlands.* New York: Farras, Straus and Young.

Diary-like account of daily life in Todos Santos, a Mam-speaking village in Huehuetenango.

1951b *The Two Crosses of Todos Santos: Survivals of Mayan Religious Ritual.* Bollingen Series, no. 27. New York: Pantheon Books.

Study of religious practices of the Mam village of Todos Santos Cuchumatán, Huehuetenango, in 1945-47 with particular emphasis on the degree to which present-day practices represent a continuation of pre-Spanish, pre-Christian tradition. The author describes life in the village and the life cycle before treating the religion, its practices and its practitioners in depth. Very valuable for an understanding of this aspect of life.

O'Neale, Lila M.

1945 *Textiles of Highland Guatemala.* Carnegie Institution Publication no. 567. Washington: Carnegie Institution.

Very complete treatment of Guatemalan Indian textiles undertaken in 1936. Materials, equipment and techniques as well as types of clothing produced and decorative motifs are discussed. Excellent study.

In Spanish: *Tejidos de los altiplanos de Guatemala.* Seminario de Integracion Social Guatemalteca, Publicaciones nos. 17-18.

Guatemala City: Ministerio de Educación, 1965.

Osborne, Lilly

1935 Guatemala Textiles. Middle American Research Series Publication no. 6. New Orleans: Middle American Research Institute, Tulane University.

Study of Guatemalan Indian textiles describing techniques of spinning, weaving, dyeing, etc., as well as types of costumes worn by men and women from various regions and the trade which is engendered by village specialization. Work is not as comprehensive as that by O'Neale cited above.

Paul, Benjamin D.

1950 "Life in a Guatemalan Indian Village." In Patterns for Modern Living: Division 3, Cultural Patterns, pp. 467-515. Chicago: Delphian Society.

Account of personal life in San Pedro La Laguna, Sololá, from birth to death, including beliefs about the afterlife.

In Spanish: La vida de un pueblo indígena de Guatemala. Seminario de Integración Social Guatemalteca, Publicación Extraordinaria. Guatemala City: Ministerio de Educación, 1959.

1953 "Mental Disorder and Self-Regulating Processes in Culture: A Guatemalan Illustration." In Interrelations between the Social Environment and Psychiatric Disorders, pp. 51-68. New York: Milbank Memorial Fund.

Analysis of the case of a mentally ill young woman from Lake Atitlán in terms of (1) the relation of role-choice to mental illness, (2) the role of secondary guilt in mental illness, and (3) self-regulating processes of a society which turn alienation into concern for the mentally ill person and work to help to bring the person back into society. María was trying to avoid her prescribed feminine role of wife-mother-housekeeper and had alienated everyone around her. With her illness, everyone, seeing her as the victim of malevolent spirits, rallied to give her support and aid.

Also available in: Personalities and Cultures, edited by Robert Hunt, pp. 150-65. Garden City, N.Y.: Natural History Press, 1967.

Paul, Benjamin D., and Paul, Lois

1963 "Changing Marriage Patterns in a Highland Guatemalan Community." Southwestern Journal of Anthropology 19:131-48.

Study of sequence of courtship and marriage patterns as practiced in San Pedro La Laguna, a Tzutuhil community on Lake Atitlán. The traditional pattern of courtship on the beach followed by pedida was followed by a period when pedida marriages waned and courtship was followed by elopement. Today girls and boys meet and mix in a variety of situations. Courtship takes place in the girl's home and virtually all marriages are legitimized by civil registration and solemnized by church ceremonies. Relates these changes to other changes in social structure and value orientation occurring in the same community.

In Spanish: Cambios en los modelos de casamiento en una comunidad guatemalteca del altiplano. Cuadernos de Seminario de Integración Social Guatemalteca, no. 13. Guatemala City: Ministerio de Educación, 1966.

Pearson, Rose

1963 "Land Reform, Guatemalan Style." American Journal of Economics and Sociology 22:225-34.

Description of the Castillo Armas agrarian reform program started in 1956. "The Rural Development Program includes the best features of its communist-inspired predecessor" (p. 229).

Pozas Arciniega, Ricardo

1962 Juan the Chamula: An Ethnological Re-creation of the Life of a Mexican Indian. Translated by Lysander Kemp. Berkeley: University of California Press.

With simple beauty the culture of a people is described in this biography of a Tzotzil (Maya) Indian from Chamula, Chiapas, Mexico. A brief introduction including basic socio-economic characteristics of the culture precedes the narrative which in the course of the story of one Indian's life portrays the lives of many. Pleasurable reading providing information and insights on the Tzotzil way of life from a personal viewpoint.

In Spanish: Juan Pérez Jolote: Biografía de un tzotzil. Colección Popular no. 4. Mexico, D.F.: Fondo de Cultural Económica, 1968.

Press, Irwin

1966 "Innovation in Spite of: A Lamp Factory for Maya Peasants." Human Organization 25:284-94.

Discussion of factors involved in the process of the introduction of a lamp factory in Hach Pech, Yucatan. Emphasis is on the unpredictability of innovation success and the wide range of factors which must be considered.

Recinos, Adrián, trans.

1950 Memorial de Sololá. Anales de
cakchiqueles. Bound with Titul
de los señores de Totonicapán,
translated by P. Dionisio José
Chonay with introduction and not
by Adrián Recinos. Mexico, D.F.
Fondo de Cultura Económica.

This native document written
Cakchiquel in the 16th centu
provides the most complete
account available of the pre-
Hispanic history of the Guat
highlands. It is primarily
a chronicle of history and
tradition containing a descri
of creation, legendary accoun
of the migration of Cakchique
ancestors to Lake Atitlán, an
details of social and cultura
patterns which form a matrix
within which the Cakchiquel
legendary history is recorded
Dates in the native calendar
for events which transpire ar
included.

In English: Recinos, Adrián, an
Goetz, Delia, trans. Annals of
Cakchiquels. Norman, Okla.:
University of Oklahoma Press 19

1952 Popol Vuh: Las antiquas histori
del Quiché. Mexico, D.F.: Fond
de Cultura Económica.

Native document of Quiché Ind
describing the immigration of
their founding ancestors from
the east, their dynastic line
from the time of this migrati

until the conquest, and the growth, conquests, and tribute rights of the Quiché state. Included is an elaborate recounting of Quiché myths. Written by Quiché officials in the 16th century, it is believed to be based in large part on aboriginal codices which the authors once possessed. Although there is some distortion due to Spanish influence, it is generally agreed to be almost wholly indigenous.

In English: Popol Vuh: The Sacred Book of the Ancient Quiché Maya. Translated from Recinos' version by Delia Goetz and Sylvanus G. Morley. Norman, Okla.: University of Oklahoma Press, 1950.

Redfield, Robert

1943 "Culture and Education in the Midwestern Highlands of Guatemala." American Journal of Sociology 48(6):640-48.

Education, not in the modern sense of formal schooling but as "the process of cultural transmission and renewal," is discussed as it occurs in the midwestern highlands, comparing Ladino and Indian forms of this process. Regulated schooling has little relevance here and traditional ceremonials are largely lacking, though the author notes the existence in Indian societies of a social-political-religious organization which serves as a social control and involves relatively sacred things. Informal day-to-day situations serve to pass on traditions and values. An illustration is provided and analyzed.

1956 "The Relations between Indians and Ladinos in Agua Escondida, Guatemala." _América Indígena_ 16:253-76.

Based on field work in 1938 the author discusses the Indians and Ladinos of this community on Lake Atitlán, noting that

> the elements that go to shape the friendliness or unfriendliness, intimacy or remoteness, class-feeling or lack of it, as between Ladinos and Indians are complex, and... the kinds of relationships that result vary importantly as one community is compared with another (p. 254).

Hence the significance of this paper as one example. The groups themselves, the nature of the differences in their cultures, the role of each in society, attitudes of the Ladinos toward the Indians, and the amalgamation which is taking place, are discussed. Redfield concludes that the two groups have "at one and the same time characteristics of distinct cultural groups in process of assimilation and also of social classes" (p. 274), for while individuals are readily assignable to one group or another and their differences are notorious, in fundamental custom and attitude they are very much alike.

Reina, Ruben E.

1959a *Continuidad de la cultura indígena en una comunidad guatemalteca*. Cuadernos del Seminario de Integración Social Guatemalteca, no. 4. Guatemala City: Editorial del Ministerio de Educación Pública.

Discussion of the reaction in Chinautla to national political changes since the revolution of 1944. Experts had expected tremendous changes to take place. However, this analysis shows that the basis of the culture continues firm and tenacious in all its fundamental characteristics.

1959b "Political Crisis and Cultural Revitalization: The Guatemalan Case." *Human Organization* 17:14-18.

This article deals with the effects of the Ubico, Arévalo-Arbenz and Castillo Armas regimes on Chinautla. Various Indian groups gained power under various regimes. "The conservatives currently in control realize they can no longer become a totally independent community. They are thus forced to plan, to compromise....and to consider adjustments" (p. 18).

1959c "Two Patterns of Fri[illegible]nip in a

Guatemalan Community." *American Anthropologist* 61:44-50.

Examination of the differences in Ladino and Indian friendship patterns in Chinautla. For the Ladino, friends are for the favors they can give, while for the Indian friendship offers emotional fulfillment. Indians form an intense type of friendship with another individual, but the relationship is usually unstable and ends in bitterness and disappointment. Reina says that this pattern interfered with his field work when an informant tried to establish a *puesto* with him. Reina did not understand the pattern at the time, and the informant felt rebuffed and became indifferent. [This pattern is also reported by Charles Wagley in Santiago Chimaltenango.]

1960 *Chinautla. A Guatemalan Indian Village: A Study in the Relationship of Community Culture and National Change*. Middle American Research Institute Publication no. 24, pp. 55-130. New Orleans: Middle American Research Institute, Tulane University.

Community study of Santa Cruz Chinautla, Department of Guatemala, with particular emphasis on the relation between the community and the larger national scene. The author examines the impact of the liberal revolution of 1944, its aftermath, and its subsequent overthrow by a more conservative regime, and finds that the degree of stability in this community, only 7 miles from Guatemala City, is surprising.

In Spanish: "Chinautla, comunidad indígena guatemalteca: estudio de las relaciones entre la cultura de comunidad y el cambio nacional." Guatemala Indígena, vol. 3, no. 1 (1963):31-150.

1963 "The Potter and the Farmer: The Fate of Two Innovators in a Maya Village." Expedition 5(4):18-30.

Description of two innovative individuals in Chinautla who yield to very strong community pressure to conform to traditional ways. Dolores, a potter, as are all the women, made animal figurines instead of the traditional water jars; and Jesús cultivated an oriental style garden in addition to the traditional *milpa*. They were to marry but gossip undermined the good reputation of both and the marriage fell through. It was only after each completely gave up his innovative practices that he was able to find a marriage partner. Excellent example of the pressure which can be brought to bear to persuade individuals to conform to traditional ways. (Reprinted in this volume as Appendix A.)

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1966 *The Law of the Saints: A Pokomam Pueblo and Its Community Culture*. New York: Bobbs-Merrill Co.

Community study of Santa Cruz Chinautla dealing particularly with the conservative forces in the community. The idea of the Law of the Saints is an important element in controlling the stability of the culture.

1969 "Eastern Guatemalan Highlands: The Pokomames and Chorti." In *Handbook of Middle American Indians*, vol. 7, edited by Evon Z. Vogt, pp. 101-32 Austin: University of Texas Press.

Excellent synthesis of ethnographical information available for Pokomames and Chorti. Information on geography, cultural and linguistic distribution, history, sources of information and ethnography of each group are provided.

Roberts, Robert

1948 "A Comparison of Ethnic Relations in Two Guatemalan Communities." *Acta Americana* 6:135-51.

Based on ethnographic information obtained by Melvin Tumin in San Luis Jilotepeque and by Robert Redfield in Agua Escondida. Roberts compares the patterns of Ladino-Indian relations in the two pueblos.

Although there is an underlying basic common pattern

of ethnic relations in the two communities, there also appear to be significant differences. These differences take the form of greater social distance and recognition of the superordinate status of the Ladino in rules of deference and precedence, together with tendencies in the direction of an ethnic caste system, with virtually complete absence of inter-marriage and vertical social mobility, in the pueblo of San Luis Jilotepeque (p. 149).

Rodas N., Flavio, and Corzo Rodas, O.

1938 Simbolismos (maya-quichés) de Guatemala. Guatemala City: Tipografía Nacional.

Study of Chichicastenango, containing good description of internal social organization which is based partly on aboriginal patterns.

Rodríguez, Mario

1965 Central America. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall.

Historical introduction to Central America with an economic and political orientation, particularly vis-à-vis the United States in the twentieth century. Useful introduction to Central America and United States

policy toward it.

Rosales N., Juan de Dios

1960 "El crédito rural frente al problema indígena." *Boletín del Instituto Indigenista Nacional*, Guatemala City, segunda epoca, 2:33-37.

Brief discussion of the importance of incorporating the Indian into the national society. The author stresses the need to understand the Indian culture as a basis for any program of change and make a few basic suggestions for establishing projects to administer credit in rural Indian populations.

Rosales Ponce, Emilo (Selis Lope, Mario)

1965a *Secretos de la raza: creencias, costumbres, medicina y supersticiones de los indigenas de la Verapaz. Tradiciones y leyendas populares*. 2d ed. Coban, Guatemala: Tipografía "El Norte."

Indian beliefs, particularly "exotic" ones, of Alta Verapaz are presented, including religious concepts, superstitions, native medical beliefs, legends, etc.--each as a distinct entity. There is no attempt to relate beliefs to life or to present them as a coherent system. Although treatment is superficial, it could provide the outsider with needed information.

1965b Vocabulario español-quecchi. Cobán, Guatemala: Tipografía "El Norte."

Rubel, Arthur J.

1964 "The Epidemiology of a Folk Illness: Susto in Hispanic America." Ethnology 3:268-83.

Study of the folk illness susto from the point of view of epidemiology. The author gives various previously reported case histories and healing rituals and concludes that susto appears as a result of intra-societal stress as an alternative adaptation when the individual has failed in his social role. Very good article.

In Spanish: "El susto en Hispano-américa." América Indígena 27(1967): 69-90.

Saénz de Santa María, Fray Carmelo

1940 Diccionario cakchiquel-español. Guatemala City: Tipografía Nacional.

Saler, Benson

1960 "The Road from El Palmar: Change, Continuity, and Conservatism in a Quiché Community." Ph.D. dissertation, University of Pennsylvania. Ann Arbor, Mich.: University Microfilms.

Community study of El Palmar, a Quiché-speaking village established amid the coffee

plantations in the lowland region of Quezaltenango by Momostecan immigrants in the 19th century. Emphasis is on continuity of culture, particularly the Indian's view of himself and his world, in a setting where a great deal of change has occurred. The author discusses the pueblo itself, life in the pueblo, and the life cycle before exploring the world view and analyzing it to determine how much it has changed. He concludes that there is "a high degree of continuity with the culture informants described as having existed forty or fifty years ago" (p. 289). Valuable description of native personality types, and beliefs and practices associated with nagualism, transforming witches and calendrics.

1962 "Migration and Ceremonial Ties among the Maya." *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology* 18:336-40.

Description of the founding and present ceremonial status of Santiago El Palmar. The pueblo was settled in the last century by migrants from Momostenango and many people today return to Momostenango for the 8-*batz* ceremonies. At the same time, El Palmar itself has become a secondary ceremonial center for other *momostecos* in the lowlands and piedmont who cannot make the trip to

Momostenango. Points out that similar patterns may have existed in Pre-Classic and Classic times among the Lowland Maya.

1964 "Nagual, Witch and Sorcerer in a Quiché Village." Ethnology 3:305-28.

Exposition of the conceptualizations of transforming witches and sorcerers in the Quiché village Santiago El Palmar, relating these beliefs to the world view and social realities of life, specifically, the powerlessness and dependency which the Indians experience on the level of socio-political reality.

In Spanish: Nagual, brujo y hechicero en un pueblo quiché. Cuadernos del Seminario de Integración Social Guatemalteca, no. 20. Guatemala City: Ministerio de Educación, 1969.

1965 "Religious Conversion and Self-aggrandizement: A Guatemalan Case." Practical Anthropology 12:107-14.

Asserting that the introduction of Protestantism in Santiago El Palmar has opened up a new channel for the affirmation of the self, the author gives case histories of socially marginal individuals who have become Protestants for self-aggrandizement. He sees the conversion of these marginal individuals as an important factor in the limited appeal which Protestantism has had for other Indians.

Schmid, Lester

1968a "The Productivity of Agricultural Labor in the Export Crops of Guatemala: Its Relation to Wages and Living Conditions." *Inter-American Economic Affairs* 22(2): 33-45.

Statistical study relating wages, land yields, and living condition to labor productivity on coffee and cotton *fincas*. Some recommendations for government policy are included.

1968b *The Role of Seasonal Labor in the Economic Development of Guatemala*. Land Tenure Center Paper no. 48. Madison: Land Tenure Center, University of Wisconsin.

Economic study of the complementary nature of the subsistence and export economies in Guatemala and the role of the *milpa* grower-seasonal laborer in both. Inasmuch as disguised unemployment exists in the subsistence sector and hiring for the export sector takes place mainly in the slack season, the agricultural output of the Indian family is not reduced and the hiring of a seasonal laborer by the export sector provides a greater supply of workers and a greater elasticity of supply than could otherwise be the case. Schmid finds that Guatemalan labor legislation based on the premise of scarcity and the principal of coercion is at odds with the actual economic situation. He makes suggestions for the elimination of detrimental effects of seasonal employment for the worker, indicating that good living and working conditions are more profitable for the employer as well since they make workers more productive.

In Spanish: "El papel de la mano de obra migratoria en el desarrollo económico de Guatemala." _Economía_, Guatemala City, 6(15):56-91.

Schultze Jena, Leonhard

1946 _La vida y las creencias de los indígenas quichés de Guatemala_. Guatemala City: Publicación Especial del Instituto Indigenista Nacional.

Based on field work in Santo Tomás Chichicastenango and Momostenango, this study is mainly concerned with world view, religion and other non-material aspects of the culture.

Also available in: _Anales de la Sociedad de Geografía e Historia de Guatemala_ 20(1945):65-80.

1947 _Indígenas quichés de Guatemala._ Biblioteca de Cultura Popular, vol. 49. Guatemala City: Editorial del Ministerio de Educación Pública.

Historically-oriented description of family, community and cofradía from information gathered in Chichicastenango and Momostenango.

Partial translation of: Leben, Glaube und Sprache der Quiché von Guatemala. Indiana: I. Gustav Fischer, 1933.

Scrimshaw, Nevin S.; Béhar, M.; Pérez, C.; and Viteri, F.

1955 "Nutritional Problems of Children in Central America and Panama." Pediatrics 16:378-97.

Review article examining feeding practices, growth and development, nutritional deficiencies and resulting diseases for all of Central America and Panama. Valuable introduction containing good bibliography.

Scrimshaw, Nevin S.; Guzmán, Miguel A.; Flores, Marina; and Gordon, John E.

1968 "Nutrition and Infection Field Study in Guatemalan Villages, 1959-64. V. Disease Incidence among Preschool Children under Natural Village Conditions, with Improved Diet and Medical and Public Health Services." Archives of Environmental Health 16:223-34.

Report on five-year study of nutrition and infection in children in three Guatemalan villages--one group received food supplements, one medical care, and one acted as a

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control. Supplementary food (Incaparina, skim milk and sugar cooked as a gruel) had a favorable effect on disease incidence and duration. Medical service gave lower fatality rates but did not reduce disease incidence. Disease incidence was shown to be directly related to the nature of the weaning process and the adequacy of food provided.

Scrimshaw, Nevin S.; Viteri, Fernando; Arroyave, Guillermo; and Tejada, Carlos

1957 "Epidemiology and Prevention of Severe Protein Malnutrition (Kwashiorkor) in Central America." American Journal of Public Health 47:53-62.

The authors examine the protein-deficiency disease kwashiorkor (called síndrome pluri-carencial de la infancia in Latin America). They explore factors causing it, including the cultural factors which are at the base of it in most cases, and suggest measures for prevention. Emphasis is on education of the mothers as the most important factor in prevention and vegetable protein supplements, which have subsequently been developed and marketed, as an inexpensive way to provide protein. Good article.

Seminario de Integración Social Guatemalteca

1968 Los pueblos del Lago de Atitlán.

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Guatemala City: Tipografía Nacional.

Study of the lake towns to determine the social changes which have taken place in the last thirty years. Sol Tax's information collected in 1936 ("The Towns of Lake Atitlán." Microfilm Collection of Manuscripts on American Indian Cultural Anthropology, Chicago: University of Chicago Library) is used as a point of comparison. Most of the towns were restudied by Flavio Rojas Lima in 1965, but for the larger towns various anthropologists collaborated. Very good study.

Siegel, Morris

1941a "Problems of Education in Indian Guatemala." Journal of Experimental Education 9:285-95.

Study of Indian resistance to Ladino ways as manifested in education in San Miguel Acatán, Huehuetenango. The author describes the native and governmental educational systems, offering suggestions for improvement in the school system.

1941b "Religion in Western Guatemala: A Product of Acculturation." American Anthropologist 43:62-76.

Study of religious acculturation based on present-day religion in San Miguel Acatán using the known Spanish factors to identify the unknown aboriginal factors.

The conclusion is that "present-day religion is a new system, neither Catholic nor aboriginal, which reveals elements from the two sources reintegrated into a functional unity" (p. 60).

Also available in: Readings in Latin American Social Organization and Institutions, edited by Olen E. Leonard and Charles P. Loomis, pp. 53-61. East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 1953.

1941c "Resistance to Cultural Change in Western Guatemala." Sociology and Social Research 25:414-30.

The question of what factors explain the unusually static quality of culture in Guatemala is explored, using information from San Miguel Acatán, Huehuetenango, collected in 1938-39. The author briefly describes the village and the Indian and Ladino populations in terms of formal organization before examining the attitudes and behavior which contribute to the static culture. The most important obstacles to integration of the Indian culture seem to be hostility toward the Ladinos on the part of the Indians and the fact that any cultural borrowing by the Indians would be seen by the Ladino as a threat to his social position.

1943 "Creation Myth and Acculturation in Acatán, Guatemala." Journal of

American Folklore 56:120-26.

This study records and analyzes a creation myth from San Miguel Acatán, Huehuetenango. The elements and incidents of the myth are a mixture of pre-conquest and Spanish elements. The myth is important since knowledge of myths and stories is usually denied by Guatemalan Indians.

1954 "Culture Change in San Miguel Acatán, Guatemala." Phylon 15(2): 165-76.

Written in 1953, this work deals with changes in this Huehuetenango village which were brought about by the revolution of 1944. Factors important in the initial impulse for development were (1) reorganization of the local government placing control in the hands of the Indians, (2) abolition of forced labor, and (3) a relatively large-scale contraband traffic.

In Spanish: "Cambio cultural en San Miguel Acatán, Guatemala." In Cultura indígena de Guatemala: Ensayos de antropología social, 2d rev. ed., edited by Jorge Luis Arriola, pp. 267-302. Seminario de Integración Social Guatemalteca, Publicación no. 1. Guatemala City: Tipografía Nacional, 1959.

Silvert, K. H.

1954 A Study in Government: Guatemala.

Part I: National and Local Government since 1944. Middle American Research Institute Publication no. 21, pp. 1-104. New Orleans: Middle American Research Institute, Tulane University.

Survey of the organization and functioning of the Guatemalan government from the 1944 revolution to the 1954 counter-revolution (the monograph was finished just before the counter-revolution) with particular emphasis on the role of nationalism. Silvert examines the national government and departmental and local governments.

Solien, Nancie L., and Scrimshaw, Nevin S.

1957 "Public Health Significance of Child Feeding Practices Observed in a Guatemalan Village." Journal of Tropical Pediatrics 3(3):99-104.

Recognizing that it is important to understand the beliefs which underlie inadequate feeding of children, the authors studied Santa María Cauqué and reviewed the literature to determine what these beliefs are. They found that people feed their children well not to make them healthy but because they are healthy. Particularly during an illness, foods are selected not because of positive health-giving qualities, but because they will not hurt. They conclude that attempts to introduce new foods to combat malnutrition will be more effective if stress is put on the "harmlessness" of the food rather than its benefits.

Solien de González, Nancie L.

1963 "Breast Feeding, Weaning and Acculturation." Journal of Pediatrics 62:577-81.

In an effort to learn more about social and cultural factors which influence protein malnutrition in children, this study was undertaken to gain information about beliefs and practices concerning breast feeding and weaning. Distinctive beliefs and practices were found among Indians, modified Indians and rural Ladinos, and urban Ladinos, with the Indians nursing longest and urban Ladinos least. Urban Ladinos are emulating upper-middle class Ladinos in this or are being influenced by doctors or nurses in clinics who are advising them to wean early. However, Solien de González concludes that if this practice becomes wide-spread among Indians and rural Ladinos the results could be disastrous, as mother's milk is the only source of protein for small children among these groups. Valuable article.

1966 "Health Behavior in Cross-Cultural Perspective: A Guatemalan Example." Human Organization 25:122-25.

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Good discussion of the similarity of behavior of people of differing cultural backgrounds in regard to Western scientific medicine using three Guatemalan groups (Indian, Ladino and Black Carib) as examples. In common with other non-Western groups and lower class groups in England and the United States, these groups are not interested in preventive medicine, wait too long to seek medical help, resist hospitalization, and do not follow prescriptions which involve diet, rest and exercise but demand pills and injections to relieve symptoms.

1970 "Cakchiqueles and Caribs: The Social Context of Field Work." In Marginal Natives: Anthropologists at Work, edited by Morris Freilich, pp. 153-84. New York: Harper & Row.

This article compares and contrasts four different field work situations involving two distinct cultures and the variations that may occur due to the nature of the investigator's contact with the natives. The author describes her research in each case; the setting of the group studied--first the Cakchiquel town of Santa María, then the Carib section of Livingston; her entry problems into each group; and data-gathering techniques under conditions of resident and nonresident research. She then evaluates the implications of the investigator's role--as perceived by himself and by those around him vis-à-vis the nature of his contact. Well-written, informative article. Good for orientation to problems in attempting to become accepted and collect data.

Solien de González, Nancie L., and Béhar, Moisés

1966 "Child-rearing Practices, Nutrition and Health Status." *The Milbank Memorial Fund Quarterly* 44(2):77-96.

Discussion of some of the ways in which culturally determined dietary and child-rearing practices affect the health of poor Ladinos and Indians in Guatemala. The authors first treat the traditional dietary and child-rearing practices and then the effects of the process of change (social, economic and ideological) which Indians and Ladinos are undergoing. Contrary to what may be thought, not all of these changes produce beneficial results in child-rearing practices or improved diet.

Spielberg, Joseph

1968 "Small Village Relations in Guatemala: A Case Study." *Human Organization* 27(3):205-11.

Data from San Miguel Milpas Altas indicate that some of Foster's hypothetical correlates

between community size and th
content of social relations m
be false. San Miguel is smal
and by Foster's prediction
relationships within the
community should be positive
and face to face, but they ar
not. The author suggests tha
the need to maintain rigorous
egalitarianism, not different
between villagers nor singlin
some out for special relation
ships, is a correlate of the
atomistic social conditions
observed.

Stadelman, Raymond

1940 "Maize Cultivation in Northweste
Guatemala." In Contributions to
American Anthropology and Histor
vol. 6, no. 33, pp. 83-263.
Publication no. 523. Washington
Carnegie Institution.

Detailed study of cultivation
maize in the Department of
Huehuetenango with the purpos
of gaining information regard
probable methods of prehistor
cultivation. Detailed inform
on preparation of land, imple
used, land ownership, migrati
of agriculturists, etc. Valu
for information on 1940 agric
tural methods.

Stavenhagen, Rodolfo

1968 Clases, colonialismo y aculturac
Ensayo sobre un sistema de relac
interetnicas en Mesoamerica.
Cuadernos del Seminario de Integ

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Social Guatemalteca, no. 19.
Guatemala City: Ministerio de
Educación.

Analysis of interethnic relations in Chiapas, Mexico and Guatemala, examining various factors which contribute to the social position of individuals within their group and in inter-group contact. In inter-group situations the continuum functions as a system of only two strata--Indian and Ladino--with the Ladino of the lowest class considering himself superior to all Indians. The study places the system in its historical context.

Also available in: *América Latina*, vol. 6; no. 4(1963):63-104.

Revised and expanded: "Tercera parte: Relaciones interétnicas y relaciones de clases en Mesoamerica," In *Las clases sociales en las sociedades agrarias*, by Rodolfo Stavenhagen, pp. 193-273. Mexico, D.F.: Siglo Veintiuno Editores, 1969.

Suslow, Leo A.

1949 *Aspects of Social Reforms in Guatemala 1944-1949: Problems of Planned Social Change in an Underdeveloped Country*. Area Studies Latin American Seminar Reports, no. 1. Hamilton, N.Y.: Colgate University.

A 1949 study of social reforms

implemented in Guatemala during Arevalo's presidency. The author discusses reforms in popular education, agriculture, rural health and social security, the enabling laws, bureaucracy established for implementation and actual implementation, response of those affected and effectiveness. He concludes, "The ends are not at present being attained" (p. 119).

Tax, Sol

1937 "The Municipios of the Midwestern Highlands of Guatemala." American Anthropologist 39(3):423-44.

Survey of Indian communities of midwestern highlands treating them in terms of physical units, social units and cultural units. Good information on traditional Indian society of the area.

In Spanish: Los municipios del altiplano mesooccidental de Guatemala. Cuadernos del Seminario de Integración Social Guatemalteca, no. 9. Guatemala City: Ministerio de Educación, 1965.

1941 "World View and Social Relations in Guatemala." American Anthropologist 43:27-42.

Tax characterizes the world view of the Guatemalan Indian as a "primitive type" while he feels his social relations are of a "civilized type."

Regarding the world view he says, "this complex of beliefs forming a basis of action constitutes a world view of the type we have come to expect in isolated preliterate tribes" (p. 39). On the other hand, the social relations are highly impersonal--not unlike those found in a large city. So, although Indians in Guatemala are great travelers, the impersonal relations limit "the kind of intimate contacts by means of which cultural items are best exchanged" (p. 33). Although all the Indians know of alternative ways, there is no impetus to adopt them. The result is a great cultural diversity.

Also available in: Contemporary Cultures and Societies of Latin America, edited by Dwight B. Heath and Richard N. Adams, pp. 487-502. New York: Random House, 1965.

And in: Readings in Latin American Social Organization and Institutions, edited by Olen E. Leonard and Charles P. Loomis, pp. 231-39. East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 1953.

In Spanish: "La visión del mundo y las relaciones sociales en Guatemala." In Cultura indígena de Guatemala: Ensayos de antropología social, 2d rev. ed., edited by Jorge Luis Arriola, pp. 103-31. Seminario de Integración Social

Guatemalteca, Publicación no. 1.
Guatemala City: Tipografía
Nacional, 1959.

1942 "Ethnic Relations in Guatemala."
América Indígena 2(4):43-48.

The author disputes Morris Siegel's contention that the fundamental principle which underlies all social relations between natives and whites is the "concept of white racial superiority" (p. 414, "Resistance to Cultural Change in Western Guatemala"). Tax maintains that differences are based on cultural, not biological, criteria and implies that this makes acculturation of the Indian easier. (This has proved not to be the case.)

1947a Miscellaneous Notes on Guatemala.
Microfilm Collection of Manuscripts
on American Indian Cultural
Anthropology, 3d series, no. 18.
Chicago: University of Chicago
Library.

Reports on several trips made in Guatemala during the period 1934-37. Part of the material is organized--sections on Western Guatemala in general, comparison between the municipios of Chichicastenango and Momostenango, description of the Department of Huehuetenango, and description of pottery making in the western highlands--while the rest of the material is in the form of diary notes. Tax says, "The notes...are neither too extensive nor reliable. However, they are published because there is little in the literature on many of the towns that are included" (p. iii).

1947b Notes on Santo Tomás Chichicastenango. Microfilm Collection of Manuscripts on American Indian Cultural Anthropology, 3d series, no. 16. Chicago: University of Chicago Library.

Notes on eight-months' field work done in 1934-35. The notes are organized in four sections: (1) population and geography, (2) technology, material culture and economics, (3) politico-religious life and (4) life cycle. Emphasis is on the rural Indians of the municipio. The material has not been published otherwise because the author felt it was not comprehensive.

1950 Notes on Panajachel: Field Notes. Microfilm Collection of Manuscripts on American Indian Cultural Anthropology, 5th series, no. 29. Chicago: University of Chicago Library.

Field notes of research done in Panajachel in the 1930's on which Penny Capitalism (q.v.) is based. Included are notes made by Juan de Dios Rosales, who was assisting Tax, as well as notes by the author himself. Part of the notes are organized according to subject while others are in diary form. Comprehensive coverage of all aspects of life.

1952 Heritage of Conquest: The Ethnology of Middle America. Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press.

The result of a 1949 seminar held to pool information on Middle America in an attempt to get a picture of the ethnology of the whole of Middle America. Almost every aspect of culture is covered: economics and technology, social organization, religious and political organization, religious and folk beliefs, basic practices regarding the life cycle, ethnic relations, cultural aspects of personality, process of acculturation and dance. Of particular interest are chapters by Benjamin D. and Lois Paul, "The Life Cycle"; by John Gillin, "Ethos and Cultural Aspects of Personality"; and by Charles Wisdom, "The Supernatural World and Curing."

1953 Penny Capitalism: A Guatemalan Indian Economy. Smithsonian Institution, Institute of Social Anthropology Publication no. 16. Washington: Government Printing Office.

Detailed account of the economic activities of the community of Panajachel on the shore of Lake Atitlán based on field work done in 1938-39 and 1943. Topics covered include geography, technology, economics, natural resources, agriculture, land ownership practices, labor, etc. Tax sees the Indian as an entrepreneur, always on the look-out for a new way of "turning a penny." On the basis of the rational economic behavior he observed, he coined the term "penny capitalism" to characterize this society.

Also available: Penny Capitalism: A Guatemalan Indian Economy. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1963.

In Spanish: El capitalismo del centavo: Una economía indígena de Guatemala. Seminario de Integración Social Guatemalteca, Publicaciones nos. 12 and 15. Guatemala City: Ministerio de Educación, 1964.

1957a "Changing Consumption in Indian Guatemala." Economic Development and Cultural Change 5:147-58.

1957b "The Indians in the Economy of Guatemala." Social and Economic Studies 6:413-24.

Tax contends that the Indians of Guatemala are not economically isolated or resistant to change as various economic missions to Guatemala have asserted. He says,

> Indian merchants and merchandise are found in the market places of Guatemala City just as Ladinos of all classes

> shop in the town markets where Indians characteristically buy and sell. In turn, Indians buy goods imported by Ladinos or manufactured in their factories (p. 417).

He also asserts that the Indians are quick to change (economically) when feasible alternatives are presented. At the same time, he agrees with economists that the Indian's productivity needs to be increased and with this increase the national economy will develop.

In Spanish: "Los indios en la economía de Guatemala." In *Integración Social en Guatemala*, edited by Jorge Luis Arriola, pp. 107-28. Seminario de Integración Social Guatemalteca, Publicación no. 3. Guatemala City: Tipografía Nacional de Guatemala, 1956.

For a summary of the article and comments by George M. Foster and full discussion of both see *Integración Social en Guatemala*, vol. 2, edited by Jorge Luis Arriola, pp. 59-80. Seminario de Integración Social Guatemalteca, Publicación no. 9. Guatemala City: Editorial del Ministerio de Educación Pública, 1959.

Tax, Sol, and Hinshaw, Robert

1969 "The Maya of the Midwestern Highlands." In *Handbook of Middle American Indians*, vol. 7, pt. 1, edited by Evon Z. Vogt, pp. 69-100.

Austin: University of Texas Press.

Synthesis of information on Indians of the midwestern highlands, treating all aspects of ethnography and including an extensive bibliography. Excellent introduction to the people of the region and starting point for further investigation.

1970 "Panajachel a Generation Later." In *The Social Anthropology of Latin America*: *Essays in Honor of Ralph L. Beals*, edited by Harry Hoijer and Walter Goldschmidt, pp. 175-95. Latin American Studies Series, no. 14. Los Angeles: Latin American Center, University of California.

Comparison of findings of Tax in 1937 and 1941 with those of Hinshaw in 1963-65 regarding the Indian world view. Economic, religious and political changes have affected Panajachel more rapidly and intensively than other midwestern highland communities, with a more fluid social structure resulting. However, few shifts in ethnic identity (ladinoization) have occurred. This suggests that a trend in acculturation may have the previously unexpected effect of stabilizing the ratio of Indians to Ladinos.

Teletor, Celso Narciso

1959 *Diccionario castellano-quiché y*

_voces castellano-pokomam._ Guatemala City: Tipografia Nacional.

Thompson, Donald E.

1960 "Maya Paganism and Christianity: A History of Fusion of Two Religions." In _Nativism and Syncretism,_ edited by Margaret A. L. Harrison and Robert Wauchope, pp. 1-35. Middle American Research Institute Publication no. 19. New Orleans: Middle American Research Institute, Tulane Universit

All of the Guatemalan Maya are nominally Roman Catholic, but they retain much of their old religion. From the fusion of the two, new rites and concepts have arisen which belong to neither. The author examines the pre-conquest religion, the imposition of Christianity and the resulting religion of the present-day Maya.

Tumin, Melvin M.

1945 _San Luis Jilotepeque: A Guatemalan Pueblo_. Microfilm Collection of Manuscripts on American Indian Cultural Anthropology, 1st series, no. 2. Chicago: University of Chicago Library.

Field notes. Basic ethnography of San Luis Jilotepeque, Jalapa.

1949 "Reciprocity and Stability of Caste in Guatemala." _American Sociological Review_ 14:17-25.

Discussion of the caste society of San Luis Jilotepeque with emphasis on the forces contributing to social stability. Although the social relations might be assumed *a priori* to be a source of tension and conflict, inquiry reveals that the forces of custom and traditionalism tend to promote a general unawareness of and indifference to the invidious aspects of the total situation on the part of the deprecated group.

In Spanish: "Reciprocidad y estabilidad de las castas de Guatemala." In *Cultura indígena de Guatemala: Ensayos de antropología social*, 2d rev. ed., edited by Jorge Luis Arriola, pp. 135-60. Seminario de Integración Social Guatemalteca, Publicación no. 1. Guatemala City: Tipografía Nacional, 1959.

1950a "The Dynamics of Cultural Discontinuity in a Peasant Society." *Social Forces* 29:135-41.

Discussion of caste society of San Luis Jilotepeque with emphasis on forces generating tensions in the social structure. (See Tumin's "Reciprocity and Stability of Caste in Guatemala," for discussion of forces contributing to social stability.) The major source of tension is the fact that Indians are being displaced from land ownership. The author discusses what land means to the Indians and ramifications for social disintegration which stem from lack of land. He concludes that although the Indians are resorting to temporary expedients (renting land), "it would seem likely that desertion of the pueblo and the increasing break-up of its traditional orientations are the most likely prospect for the future" (p. 140).

1950b "The Hero and the Scapegoat in a Peasant Community." Journal of Personality 19:197-211.

Discussion of deviant behavior (which in the cases presented seems to have its genesis in relatively unique and idiosyncratic facts in the person's history) in San Luis Jilotepeque. Tumin found that hero and scapegoat both share many deviant traits--are "uppity," overtly challenge the status quo, are "bad" examples for other Indians, etc. He suggests that success of a deviant in society is in considerable measure dependent upon securing an initially favorable reaction.

1952 Caste in a Peasant Society: A Case Study in the Dynamics of Caste. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Sociological study of San Luis

Jilotepeque based on field research in 1942-43 places emphasis on the caste structure of the community with the Ladinos in the superior position and the Pokomam-speaking Indians, the inferior. "Together these groups form a relatively self-sufficient interacting community whose continuity appears to depend on their joint participation in the business of life" (p. 5). The author describes the way of life, the similarities and differences between the groups as hierarchically organized social strata, and strain and tension within the social structure.

1956 "Cultura, casta y clase en Guatemala: Una nueva evaluación." In Integración social en Guatemala, vol. 1, edited by Jorge Luis Arriola, pp. 163-91. Seminario de Integración Social Guatemalteca, Publicación no. 3. Guatemala City: Tipografía Nacional. (Followed by comments on the article by Juan de Dios Rosales and Robert H. Ewald.)

Discussion of the structure of relations between the Indians and Ladinos of Guatemala as these relations affect potential social integration.

United Nations Programme of Technical Assistance

1960 The Indian Economic Development Service of Guatemala, by G. Aguirre

Beltrán and Emil J. Sady. ST/TAO/K/
Guatemala/2.

The authors evaluate the Servicio de Fomento de la Economía Indígena (SFEI), describing its organization, the nature of its activities, services provided, and its relationships with other governmental agencies. A brief but informative survey of the situation of the Guatemalan Indian, the philosophy behind the development of SFEI and its history precede the evaluation. This thorough report makes a number of valuable recommendations for the Government of Guatemala (which requested the study) and provides extensive background information for evaluating this agency today.

Valdés Oliva, Arturo

1965 *Lenguas indígenas de Guatemala*. Cuadernos del Seminario de Integración Social Guatemalteca, no. 8. Guatemala City: Ministerio de Educación Pública.

Linguistic map of Guatemala accompanied by brief discussion.

Valladares, León A.

1957 *El hombre y el maíz: Etnografía y etnopsicología de Colotenango*. Mexico, D.F.: B. Costa-Amic, Editor.

Community study of Colotenango,

Huehuetenango, Guatemala, describing social organization, economic activities, cultural traits and mentality, family life, health, religious life, the religious structure, myths and legends, etc.

Valverde, Víctor Manuel

1962 "El analfabetismo en Guatemala." Guatemala Indígena 2(3):21-112.

Comprehensive study of the problem of illiteracy in Guatemala. As background, certain characteristics of the population (based on the 1950 census), various causes of illiteracy (economic, social, and political), and a history of efforts (governmental and private) to resolve the problem, are presented. The author then evaluates the results of these campaigns and discusses the basic criteria for planning a literacy program and the technical and material resources needed. Excellent orientation to educational problems in Guatemala.

Van den Berghe, Pierre L.

1968 "Ethnic Membership and Cultural Change in Guatemala." Social Forces 46:514-22.

There has been a persistent decline in the Indian population which can only be accounted for by the "passing" of Indians into the Ladino stratum. The relative decline in certain departments is the result of large immigration of "Indians-turned-Ladinos." The author concludes that while it is nearly impossible for an Indian to "pass" as a Ladino if he stays in his own community, migration to another part of the country is typically accompanied by fairly rapid ladinoization.

Villa Rojas, Alfonso

1969 "Maya Lowlands: The Chontal, Chol and Kekchí." In *Handbook of Middle American Indians*, vol. 7, pt. 1, edited by Evon Z. Vogt, pp. 230-43. Austin: University of Texas Press.

Good synthesis of ethnographical literature on the Kekchí Indians, providing an introduction and starting point for further research.

Virkki, Niilo

1962 "Comentarios sobre el baño de vapor entre los indígenas de Guatemala." *Guatemala Indígena* 2(2):71-85.

The author examines construction styles and use of the sweat bath among various Indian groups in Guatemala. Some groups use the sweat bath to bathe while others use it for medicinal purposes

only. It is also used for childbirth and the placenta is buried in the floor. This practice creates very strong ties between the individual and his sweat bath, for it is believed that the placenta continues to be a part of the man. For this reason he returns periodically to the place where he was given his first bath to pray and light a candle. Brief mention is made of the ancient mythology of the Indian sweat bath. The influence of the "Euro-American" culture on its use and persistence is also discussed.

Vogt, Evon Z.

1969 Zinacantan: A Maya Community in the Highlands of Chiapas. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, Belknap Press.

In-depth study of Zinacantan, Chiapas, Mexico, based on ten years of research by the Harvard Chiapas Project. Social structure, religious beliefs and rituals, and some of the principles and processes of the culture are discussed. Excellent synthesis of previous work on the Tzotzil Indians and detailed treatment of Zinacantan.

Wagley, Charles

1941 Economics of a Guatemalan Village. American Anthropologist Association Memoir no. 58. Menasha, Wis.:

American Anthropologist Association.

Intensive study of the economic activities of several families of Santiago Chimaltenango, Huehuetenango, in relation to the social structure and resources of the community. Field work was done in 1937.

1949 The Social and Religious Life of a Guatemalan Village. American Anthropologist Association Memoir no. 71. Menasha, Wis.: American Anthropologist Association.

Study of the religious, political and ceremonial organization of Santiago Chimaltenango, a Mam-speaking village in northwestern Guatemala. Field work was done in 1937.

In Spanish (both of the above combined): Santiago Chimaltenango: Estudio antropologico-social de una comunidad indigena de Huehuetenango. Seminario de Integración Social Guatemalteca, Publicación no. 4. Guatemala City: Tipografía Nacional, 1957.

1969 "The Maya of Northwestern Guatemala." In Handbook of Middle American Indians, vol. 7, pt. 1, edited by Evon Z. Vogt, pp. 46-68. Austin: University of Texas Press.

Synthesis of ethnographic literature on Indians of the area known as "Los Altos

716

Cuchumatanes." Area includes Mam-Kanhobalan-, and Chuh-speaking peoples. Excellent introduction and starting point for further investigation.

Whetten, Nathan L.

1961 *Guatemala: The Land and the People*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

This socio-economic study of Guatemala provides information on all aspects of Guatemalan life--geography, demography, relations among ethnic groups, the economy, agriculture, manner of living, social institutions, etc. Perhaps best overall introduction to Guatemala.

Wisdom, Charles

1940 *The Chorti Indians of Guatemala*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Excellent ethnography of the Chorti of Chiquimula. Wisdom describes patterns of land tenure, agriculture, kinship organization, and religious beliefs.

In Spanish: *Los chortis de Guatemal* Seminario de Integración Social Guatemalteca, Publicación no. 10. Guatemala City: Editorial del Ministerio de Educación Pública.

1950 *Materials on the Chorti Language*. Microfilm Collection of Manuscripts on American Indian Cultural Anthro-

pology, 5th series, no. 28.
Chicago: University of Chicago
Library.

Wolf, Eric

1959 Sons of the Shaking Earth. Chic
University of Chicago Press.

Historical introduction to
anthropology of all of Middl
America. The author discuss
geography, biology, language
prehistoric expansion of Mid
American culture, and the
impact of foreign conquest.
Excellent framework on which
build, with specific informa
gathered elsewhere.

Wood, Harold A.

1967 "The Crop-livestock Relationshi
in Guatemala, Central America."
Revista Geográfica no. 66:95-1

Based on the hypothesis that
the different activities of
tropical agriculture are
closely linked, particularly
a subsistence level. The
author examines the relation
ship between livestock and
agriculture in Guatemala. H
finds that the geographical
separation between cattle
raising and crops is related
to soil type and accessibili
as well as to humidity. The
best areas are used for crop
while cattle are kept in are
of dry climate and poor soil

Where there is a functional relationship between the two, livestock is more dependent on crops than crops on livestock, but true "mixed farming" is rare.

Woods, Clyde M.

1968 "Medicine and Culture Change in San Lucas Tolimán: A Highland Guatemalan Community." Ph.D. dissertation, Stanford University. Ann Arbor, Mich.: University Microfilms.

Study of community on Lake Atitlán focusing on the process of medical innovation. A discussion of ethnographic setting, world view and etiology of illness, curing resources, and illness behavior is followed by an analysis of changes in culture and medicine. (See chapter 5 in this volume).